

“ In duty, faithful ”



NARAYAN GANESH CHANDAVARKAR

A WRESTLING SOUL

Story of the life of
SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR

By
GANESH L. CHANDAVARKAR



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TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

A man's character—

This is the wonder, always, everywhere—

Not that vast mutability which is event,

The pits and pinnacles of change,

But man's desire and valiance that range

All circumstance, and come to port unspent.

—*John Drinkwater*

Life is discipline and to go through it well, we must be strong. The strength must come from faith in our mission.

—*Sir Narayan Chandavarkar*

जे अंकित ईश्वराचे । तयांस सोहळे निजसुखाचे ।

धन्य तेचि जन दैवाचे । भाविक जन ॥

— श्री दासबोध

FOREWORD

It is indeed a rare privilege to be asked to write a foreword to the life of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. He and I were contemporaries, I being about three years younger. Although, of course, I was a great admirer of this versatile and upright man, my personal contact with him was rather limited. In 1916 when I was the President of the Indian Social Conference at its session in Bombay, Sir Narayan was the Secretary and it was then that I got a closer view of the great human qualities that he possessed. I realised then that he was a born leader and the liberality and breadth of his views was an object lesson to me. I should like to congratulate the author on his presentation and I am sure the younger generation will derive benefit and inspiration from the life of this great Indian.



D. K. KARVE

Poona, 12-11-1955.

P R E F A C E

Six years ago, I was asked by one for whom and whose word I have the highest reverence to write in English a short biography of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. I was, at that time, reading for my own benefit Narayanrao's diaries and his notebooks, and had made use of a portion of what I had read and meditated on for the discourses which I had to prepare for the Prayer Services held in the family in connection with Narayanrao's death anniversaries. Much as I wished to take up the task which was suggested to me, I had considerable misgivings about my own limited capacity. I hesitated a good deal. I feared that what was lofty and grand might seem to lose some of its loftiness and grandeur because of its contact with the feebleness of my attempt. During the last six years, however, I gathered confidence from the thought that the contact with the lofty and grand character itself would transform the feebleness of my attempt into strength. In December of last year, I was once again asked to take up the task and, this time, I felt bold enough to do so.

This little book is intended mainly to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar which took place on December 2, 1855. Mr. D. G. Vaidya wrote and published an excellent biography of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in Marathi in 1937. Another biographical work with the same theme may appear to some to be unnecessary, but I know there are many more who earnestly feel that a short biography in English would be welcome, for there are many among Sir Narayanrao's admirers who are not able to read Mr. Vaidya's book in Marathi. That book has afforded a good deal of material for this humbler undertaking, particularly for chapters like 'Indore' and 'The University', and I acknowledge my indebtedness to it. This little book, however, can claim at least one special feature, and that is, it includes passages from the original writings, speeches and sermons which are in English. In fact, the writer claims to have done very little beyond presenting the hero of the story in a way

in which he can himself speak to the readers, for the method adopted for the book gives the readers glimpses of Narayan-rao's life and character, as far as possible, through his own utterances and musings. For this purpose, his collected speeches and writings edited by Mr. L. V. Kaikini, the files containing newspaper cuttings of his more recent writings, and his diaries and numerous note-books have been a mine of priceless treasure.

Had it not been for the generosity of Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar and Mr. Prabhakar N. Chandavarkar, who allowed me to use all the material which was available, it would not have been possible for me even to commence the writing of this book. All the encouragement I needed I had in full measure from Mr. Prabhakar N. Chandavarkar and from Mr. S. M. Kaikini (of Dharwar) who guided my foot-steps on the difficult path by reading the manuscript and making very valuable suggestions most of which I have gratefully accepted. To these three respected elders I owe a debt of gratitude I shall never be able to repay. Others also have freely given me the help I needed. I know I cannot thank them enough. I would like to make particular mention of the kindness of Prof. N. R. Phatak, of my colleagues of Ram Mohan English School—S. N. Mayenkar, V. N. Naik and B. H. Pai-Angle, and of Mr. B. V. Nadkarni of the *Vividha-Vritta*.

The venerable Maharshi of Maharashtra, Annasaheb Karve, was very glad when I told him about this book, and he readily agreed to write a foreword for it. Coming as it does from the pen of a contemporary of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who is happily still with us to guide and inspire the younger generation and impart to it at least something of his incomparable zeal for reform and service, the foreword, so aptly written, has considerably enhanced the worth of the book. To that Patriarch, I offer my homage of respect and gratitude. I do not know how I can adequately thank the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar for his learned Introduction. I know it was easy for him to say 'no' to my request in view of his heavy work and responsibilities; the inadequacy of my attempt to thank him is in the measure of the magnanimity of his act.

It is the promptness and efficiency of the Popular Press (Bombay) Ltd. alone that has made it possible for me to have the book ready on the day of the Birth Centenary. To Mr. B. G. Gandbhir and the other workers of the Popular Press I tender my warm thanks. I should be failing in my duty if I omit to thank Mr. G. R. Bhatkal and Mr. Sadanand G. Bhatkal of the Popular Book Depot for their valuable help and suggestions.

I have adopted for the book the title which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar chose for his articles in the 'Subodha Patrika' in which he gave utterance to his musings on life.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was, in some respects, a much-misunderstood man. In a large sense, this was due to the fact that he did not hesitate to declare in public what he said in private, and also to his standard of duty and uprightness which was high above the common run. This book endeavours to present the structure of that lofty character. Borrowing a metaphor from Sir Narayanrao himself which he employed in the case of a great contemporary of his, it may be said that that character may have had its shades as well as lights but today whatever appeared as shades have fallen far into the background and the lights shine as beacons. May we of this generation for whom this story of his life contains much that carries a lesson always have the beacons before our eyes so that we may seek life's fulfilment through labour and service!

GANESH L. CHANDAVARKAR

November 20, 1955

INTRODUCTION

As Chairman of the Chandavarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, I have great pleasure in introducing to the public the present "Story of the life of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar." "A humble attempt is made", says the author, "in the following pages to tell the story of a great life." The career of Sir Narayan has so many brilliant facets that the task of making a proper selection in presenting an account of his life as a whole was undoubtedly not easy of accomplishment. Readers of the present story would naturally agree with the statement of the author that when he made "a humble attempt . . . to tell the story of a great life" it was by no means an easy task. Indeed, Sir Narayan lived a full life of social usefulness and service. A distinguished University student, a successful lawyer, an eminent Judge of the Bombay High Court, an able politician, a keen social reformer, during his time the friend, philosopher and guide of the younger generation, a journalist of repute in his early days, a very good speaker and a writer of chaste English, an enlightened leader of the Prarthana Samaj, a deep student throughout his life, the President of the Indian National Congress, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, the first President of the local reformed Legislative Council, and, above all, a devout and passionate spiritualist: these are the broad and prominent facets of Sir Narayan's career. I have no doubt that all readers of the present story will pay a tribute to the writer for unfolding these several facets in their proper perspective. The pen used by the writer is no doubt soft and reverent; but he has made an attempt to appraise the achievements of Sir Narayan in a rational manner. The material available to the writer has been carefully examined by him, and in the process of sifting the material and selecting his topics and arranging them he has shown commendable judgment and discernment. The style of the author is simple, forceful and direct, and the story as presented makes pleasant, instructive and attractive reading. Besides, in unfolding the story, the writer has made very judicious use of Sir Narayan's

writings and speeches themselves and has allowed Sir Narayan to speak to the readers on several occasions. While introducing this story to the public, I wish to express my genuine appreciation for the work so ably done by Mr. G. L. Chandavarkar in compiling this story and in presenting it to the public on the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Sir Narayan.

In assessing the value of the contributions made by Sir Narayan and his contemporaries and the importance of their achievements, it is essential to adopt a proper historical approach. Since the death of Sir Narayan, history in India has moved very fast and changes of a revolutionary character, which then seemed to be distant, and slow and difficult of achievement, have been effected with unexpected speed. It may truly be said of the epoch following the death of Sir Narayan that history has been on the march. Our sense of values, our social and political ideals and our concepts of the economic requirements for a stable and rational reconstruction of society have been revolutionised. I venture to think that it would not be fair or reasonable to apply to-day's notions and ideas strictly in judging the thoughts and activities of the generation that lived in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century. In order to appreciate the importance of the valuable contributions made by giants of those days, we must bear in mind the background of the times, the social, political and economic conditions that then prevailed, and the limitations from which that age inevitably suffered. Judged by this proper rational test, I have no doubt that Sir Narayan's career can claim the merit of social usefulness in a large measure.

In his time the conflict between the claims of social and political reforms had divided thinkers and workers into two conflicting camps. The speeches and writings of Sir Narayan show that he fully appreciated the necessity of a synthesis between the political and the social movements, though it may be conceded that he was inclined to attach slightly more importance to social reform. The history of social reform since the advent of India's freedom has brought home to all progressive minds the knowledge that lack of faith in social pro-

gressiveness constitutes a very serious weakness in the national polity in the country. The belief that the attainment of political freedom would automatically resolve all social inequalities has been rudely and sadly exploded by actual experience. All social reformers have now realised that the task of establishing social equality, which had been so valiantly commenced by stalwarts like Ranade, Agarkar, Telang, Chandavarkar and Fule, still awaits to be completed. Sir Narayan did not believe in bringing about social reform by adopting the line of least resistance. "All progress", he said, "is through conflict, and once feed a people on the idea that they must avoid struggle and inconvenience, you rob them of the prospect and capacity of that which forms the best part of its wealth—the prospect capacity of breeding great and true, high and heroic, suffering and struggling characters; who serve their people by being the conscience of their country." On another occasion, he observed, almost prophetically:—"Not to break off our moorings, not to break away from the past, to be cautious and slow, are all fine phrases and good advice, so far as they go. But human nature is full and fond of the past, at least in India, so inert and supine that there is no danger of any reformer running headlong and revolutionising society. Rather, it may and must do good to have advice offered the other way—it is so much needed where a Himalaya of superstition has to be moved." These words sound so true that they may be adopted by a passionate reformer even to-day. It is realised by all progressive citizens to-day that castes and the spirit of casteism which they inevitably breed constitute a serious challenge to democracy in this country. In his time Sir Narayan had been harping on the same theme on several occasions. While dealing with castes, Sir Narayan once gave a happy quotation as was his wont—from Mr. Crosier who had said: "Once we are grouped into circles, like circles we can touch only one point—that of self-interest." The speeches and writings of Sir Narayan on matters of social reform may afford valuable guidance to the social reformer even to-day.

During his time, Sir Narayan always delivered well-considered speeches on different subjects for the benefit of the

young students of his time and he lost no opportunity of dealing with their difficulties, attempting to solve their problems and giving them an insight into the ideals which they should place before themselves as the future citizens of the country. Like his friend Telang, Sir Narayan himself was a keen student all his life and he was never tired of emphasizing the importance of discipline and the pursuit of knowledge. "The key to Telang's greatness and goodness", Sir Narayan told a meeting of students, "must be found in the discipline to which he subjected himself as a student and the habits of study he acquired." An ancient Sanskrit text describes the process of acquiring knowledge in an eloquent manner. "A quarter of knowledge", says the Sanskrit verse, "is obtained by the student from his teacher; a quarter by his own exertion; a quarter from his contact with his co-students; and the last quarter by his contact with life and the experiences of life.*" It may be said without exaggeration that Sir Narayan was continuously engaged in acquiring the last quarter of knowledge throughout his life. In his increasing pursuit of knowledge, Sir Narayan naturally looked upon the University with feelings of loyalty and devotion. "No sight in Bombay," said Sir Narayan, "and we have many beautiful sights in this dear old city of ours, whether produced by Nature or made by man—fills the mind with reverence and encourages it to aspire high better than this University with its modest buildings and lofty tower. As I gaze upon them, I feel I am in the presence of a Mother whose eyes are turned towards heaven above, but whose feet are planted deep in earth below—a picture of purity, steadiness and sobriety—conveying to us all, like the face of the lady that Rossetti loved, 'the meanings of things that are'." A better and more glowing description of the influence that the University should exercise over the minds of students it is difficult to imagine.

A firm believer in the importance of discipline and the pursuit of knowledge, Sir Narayan was sometimes apt to be severe. But as Mr. Natarajan has pointed out, Sir Narayan

* आचार्यात्पादमादत्त पादं शिष्यः स्वमध्या । पादं स्वब्रह्मचारिभ्यः पादं कालक्रमेण तु ॥

was habitually more severe to himself than he ever was to the worst criminal that came before him. "Of him it may truly be said", continues Mr. Natarajan, "that he constantly held

A silent court of Justice himself,
Himself the Judge and Jury with himself
The prisoner at the bar."

The pursuit of the legal profession and the task of administration of justice was held in such high esteem by Sir Narayan that he always insisted upon a proper cultural and intellectual equipment both for a lawyer and for a judge. "There are, indeed," said Sir Narayan, "instances of men who have won success in the lawyer's profession without a sound general culture or liberal education, but these are exceptions, not the rule. This culture is of great value to the lawyer, whether he is practising at the Bar or presiding at the Bench; and it may be laid down as a sound maxim illustrated by general experience that no one can be an efficient lawyer whose light is derived from Law and Law alone." Similarly, about the functions which the High Court should discharge, Sir Narayan held a very exalted view. In 1912, the 50 years' life of the Bombay High Court was celebrated and in the article written by him on this memorable occasion, Sir Narayan surveyed the activities and achievements of the Bombay High Court during this period with just pride. "But behind and beyond its judicial function," he wrote, "is the influence which the Court has exercised imperceptibly over the social transformation of His Majesty's subjects, understanding the word social not in the narrow sense in which it is generally used in this country but in the sense comprehending life, individual, corporate as a whole, and in all its aspects which make for modern Civilisation." I trust all citizens will agree with the tribute which has been paid by Sir Narayan to the noble traditions of the Bombay High Court which have been built up steadily by a succession of able and eminent judges and lawyers in the High Court. It may be said truly, with justification, that Sir Narayan was a worthy follower of the school and tradition started by Badruddin Tyabji, Ranade and

Telang. I would like to add that, in the matter of administering Hindu law, the Bombay High Court is well-known for its liberal, progressive and broad outlook. This tradition of interpreting ancient texts in a broad and liberal manner began with Sir Michael Westropp, who was the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court from 1870 to 1882, and was followed by Sir Raymond West, who was a Puisne Judge of the Bombay High Court from 1871 to 1887. These two Judges showed remarkable legal genius and broad vision in administering the provisions of Hindu law with which they were initially unfamiliar. The same tradition was continued by Nanabhai Haridas, Ranade, Telang, Lallubhai Shah and Chandavarkar.

It may not be known to many persons that amidst his various activities which sometimes raised heated controversies, Sir Narayan was always a devout spiritualist and believed in the efficacy of prayer. In the chapter headed "The Wrestling Soul", the author has given us an insight into the essentially spiritual outlook of Sir Narayan. "The burden of life", said Sir Narayan, "will become a blessing, if we all, young and old, hearken unto the inner voice and follow the example of prophets and saints who by prayer became pure and, learning to love God and man in silent communion, became the founders of society and the leaders of men." When we read the story of Sir Narayan's life to-day, we see, in retrospect, his career placed along with the other noble careers of his worthy contemporaries under the lengthening shadow of time. Paying a tribute to Tilak, Sir Narayan had once observed: "His purity of character and his genius of scholarship have given him that strong hold on the admiration and the adoration of the people which he has attained and which he would not have perhaps attained but for them. His figure has now become history—and it has lights and shades but the shades should fall back and the lights become our beacons." I think it should be possible for the citizens of to-day more appropriately to adopt the same approach to the career of Sir Narayan and to allow the shades to fall back and the lights to become our beacons.

When I was asked by the author of the present story to

introduce his work to the readers, I got an opportunity to read all the literature available on Sir Narayan, including his speeches and writings. A study of Sir Narayan's writings and speeches tempts me to believe that when he received the final call from his Maker, Sir Narayan must have been at peace with himself. "Blessed is he", said Carlyle, "who has found his work. Let him ask no other blessedness." I have no doubt that Sir Narayan had found his work and so he never asked for any other blessedness. Indeed, Sir Narayan believed so passionately in work that at the time when he had to depart from this world he must have said to himself:

"Oh, for a life,
A second life to live,
To use it up in work
And die of it a second time."

22-11-1955.

P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR

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Introductory

A humble attempt is made in the following pages to tell the story of a great life. It has not been an easy task. The story of the life of Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar has many facets. He was a lawyer and a judge; he was a reformer and took an active part in politics; he was a scholar and a student till the last minute of his life. He was elected president of the Indian National Congress and appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay. For a time, he went to Indore as Chief Minister of that State, and at the time of his death, he was President of the Bombay Legislative Council—the first one to be elected under the Reforms of 1919. Above all, he was a lay-preacher who preached from the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj and the platform of the Students' Brotherhood—the sermons he preached being the outcome not of mere scholarship and learning but of deep reflection and experience and a spiritual endeavour of which scholarship was only an adornment to heighten its beauty.

To describe a life so rich in variety and so splendid in the spell it cast on its surroundings would require the rare gifts of a writer under whose dexterous pen the story would shape itself into neatly drawn and skilfully painted pen-pictures. At least, the writer, as in the case of the writer of the biography in Marathi, should have had claims on greater intimacy—of relationship or, at least, of space and time. I was separated from Sir Narayan Chandavarkar by a wide gulf of fifty years. I was born when the prime of his youth was over and after he had adorned the Bench of the Bombay High Court for five years. Before I was ten, he had not only retired as Judge of the High Court but had also returned from Indore where he had a brief glorious regime as Chief Minister. I joined the Bombay University as a student five weeks after his death, and during those glorious days when he preached from the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj, I was not old enough even to attend the services in the Prarthana Mandir. Thus, the scholar, the preacher and the

judge—they were all strange to me, but I had seen the man. For nearly ten years, ever since my mind came out of the dark cave of childhood's ignorance and learnt to react to its surroundings, it was able to realise increasingly the grandeur and awe that the Head of the family in which I had the good fortune to be born, spread in the mansion which was his and in which I was one of the many who found the comforts of a home and the light that never faded. Today, thirty-two years after my uncle was gathered to the ages, the image of his manly, saintly figure is vividly imprinted on my grateful memory. It still gives me light and comfort whenever I need it. It is from these reflections that I have gathered the courage to undertake this task. If I am able to put on paper those reflections faithfully, I shall deem my task adequately accomplished. To complete the picture, it will be necessary for me to give the reader glimpses into N. G. Chandavarkar's contribution to social and political reform, his work as a lawyer and judge, and the services he rendered to the cause of education and the enlightenment of the youth. I would, however, beseech my readers not to turn away from these pages disappointed if they do not find in them a detailed record of events in his life as a pleader and judge, political leader, educationist, and pioneer of social and religious reform.

A special session of the Bombay Legislative Council was held in Poona on June 8, 1923. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, attended the session and inaugurated it. In his opening speech he said,

"It is not, however, primarily to address you on these proposals (for which the special session was convened) I am here to-day but rather because I desired in person to express the deep sense of loss which this Council has suffered in the death of its first president, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, and especially to associate myself with whatever tribute this House may think fit to pay to the sacred memory of its president."

In paying his tribute to the departed President, Sir George Lloyd spoke of his work which, he said, was

“ of such far-reaching importance that its greatness like that of all other great constructive pieces of work will never be fully realised by this generation.”

His Excellency concluded his speech with the hope that

“ If in nothing else, he has his reward at best in this that his memory will live long in the grateful thoughts of many thousands of those for whom he worked, and it is, I believe, the reward he would have most prized.”

In this graceful and feeling tribute, there was sincerity in the mood of the speaker and, as one recalls the words across the lengthening space of thirty-two years, truth in the prophecy it contained. On another occasion, during Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's life-time, Sir George Lloyd had described him as a 'wise counsellor of youth and age.' In this capacity and during a period of nearly fifty years devoted to the service of his countrymen, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar created and left a permanent impress of his own character, rather than of his words or even actions, upon the minds of thousands of young men. That impress, however, was not easily perceptible, for Sir Narayan did not belong to that class of leaders who dazzle the eyes of the onlookers by something conspicuous, though not of a lasting value, in their lives. His influence sank deeper and, therefore, was not always seen and did not shine on the surface. C. Y. Chintamani, the Editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad and a great leader of the liberal school of thought, told a students' gathering in Bombay in 1924 that it was an address he had heard from N. G. Chandavarkar when he (Mr. Chintamani) was a student, that had given him the urge to devote his life to the service of his country. This ability to mould the character and destinies of the younger generation, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar owed to his lofty character which was made up of a steadfast adherence to truth, an almost superhuman capacity to toil and to learn, and a mind full of compassion for all living beings. Because he was unyielding except to the dictates of his own conscience and because compromise on principles never entered his thoughts, he is best remem-

hered as, as is aptly described in a tribute which was paid to him after his death,

“ a splendid example of a new type of Indian saint who combined whatever was best in the ancient Indian and Western types of sainthood with an active life in a harmonious combination.”

This may sound to some as an over-statement of facts, but those who have seen him and known him—knowing him was to learn to revere him—know better.

I

Childhood and Education

In the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, are the two villages, Kaikini and Chandavar. Chandavar is separated by a little stream from the bigger village of Mallapur which has been known for two and a half centuries for its temple of Gopalkrishna and the Avadi Math which has taken its name from Avadi, or Lakshmibai, known for her great piety. Ramavallabhdas, a saint of some repute in the seventeenth century, had conferred the epithet Avadi on Lakshmibai, a lady belonging to a Saraswat family, in recognition of her great devotion for Lord Krishna. Narayanappa, Lakshmibai's husband, also was a disciple of Ramavallabhdas. His family name, Ubhayakar, was derived, as tradition says, from the command of two villages (Ubhaya, in Sanskrit or Marathi, meaning two) of Chandavar and Gersappa conferred on him by the Raja of Nagar, a small principality in Mysore.

Another Saraswat Brahmin family which had left its older home in Goa after it was conquered by the Portuguese and Inquisition came into force in that territory, settled at Kaikini which is a hamlet in the bigger village of Murdeshwar, a holy place, which has a temple of one of the Jyotirlingas. The family adopted the name of the village, Kaikini, as its own name. Shiva, a member of this family, was the disciple of a saint, Swami Chidanand, and himself became known in the course of years for his advancement in spirituality and saintliness. His guru conferred on him the title "Kaivalya Yogeeshwar", and he later became known as Swami Shivanand.

These two families, the Ubhayakars and the Kaikinis, were united in marriage in the late forties or the early fifties of the last century. Ganesh, better known as Ganpayya, son of the great-great-grandson of Narayanappa and Avadi Devi,

took as his spouse, Parvati, daughter of Vithalrao Kaikini, great-grandson of Swami Shivanand. The eldest child of Ganpayya and Parvatibai was born on December 2, 1855. It was a boy and was given the name Narayan. Narayan's father, Ganpayya, was a pleader at Sirsi, but Narayan was born in the house of his maternal grandfather at Honavar, which was the Sub-Divisional Headquarters of the undivided Kanara District which was then in the Madras Presidency and of which Mangalore was the District Town. Besides his mother, Parvatibai, three other persons had a great influence on the young growing mind of Narayan. These were his grandfather, Vithalrao Kaikini, himself, and his two maternal uncles, Shamrav and Sheshgirirao. In 1899, Narayanrao narrated reminiscences of his early childhood in his memorable reply to an address of welcome which the residents of Mangalore gave him. In these early memories, his grandfather had the supreme place. Narayanrao spoke of him as a God-fearing man of convictions with a large heart full of compassion. No one who came in contact with the old man failed to be impressed with his uprightness and strict adherence to truth. Narayanrao went on to tell how his grandfather was a man of deep piety. Whenever he met another pious man, he brought him home and entertained him to a sumptuous feast. In the company of his guest, Vithalrao would spend all his time in bhajan or in talks which had religion as their topic. One day, a Warkari belonging to the Dhobi community came to the town. Vithalrao brought him home as a guest. The Warkari began to sing hymns. Vithalrao joined him in the bhajan and so forgot himself that he began to dance in the ecstasy of joy. Once, in the family temple at Kaikini, young Narayan saw his grandfather rolling on the floor in front of the deity; so full he was of the joy of worship. The boy was so carried away by the sight that he also danced and rolled about by the side of his grandfather. Morning and evening, the old man and his grandson sang together hymns and the boy joined his grandfather rolling on the floor in front of the deity—so full morning. It was a little difficult for Narayan in the beginning to get up so early, but his grandfather soon got him into the

habit by giving him sweets to eat after the bhajan as an inducement. This habit of rising early never left Narayanrao. Along with it, the other habit of beginning the day with a prayer also remained his constant companion and the fountain-spring of his comfort and inspiration.

There were in Honavar in those days two devout men. They sang hymns and performed bhajans. One of them had a sweet voice. Narayanrao said about them:

“They were fond of me and I was fond of them, and night after night have I passed with them at Honavar singing and praying to God.”

One day the children of the house were called back early from school. They were not brought home but were taken to the neighbour's house.

“We did not know what had happened, but we heard the distant sound of weeping and wailing coming from our own house. I was old enough to infer from it that my youngest aunt who was ailing was dead. What I saw from the half-closed door a little later confirmed my inference. It was the funeral procession. My grandfather was at its head. He had put his own shoulder to the bier, and he was loudly uttering the words “Radhe-Krishna, Radhe-Krishna.” It showed to me even then that, struggling as he was with his sorrow, he was trying to put it down and bear it with fortitude.”

This incident was never effaced from Narayanrao's memory, and the great forbearance and spiritual endeavour revealed by his grandfather left a permanent mark on his character, which manifested itself in Narayan's own behaviour and attitude years later when his youngest child, a sweet angel of six, died in 1908.

Subrao Gopal Ubhayakar, Narayanrao's cousin, has published a collection of Bhajans to be sung on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of Lord Krishna. These bhajans

were composed by Ramavallabhdas whose biographical sketch forms a preface to the book. In this biographical sketch, which is written by Subrao Gopal himself, there is an account of the Ubhayakar family from Narayanappa and Avadi Devi to the generation to which the writer—Subrao Gopal—and Narayanrao belonged. Writing about Narayanrao's boyhood, Subrao Gopal has given the following interesting account:—

“Worship of God was a prominent trait in the behaviour of Narayanrao as a boy. Another trait was that of leadership. He was fond of playing the leader with his playmates as his subordinates. Another pastime of his was the game known as the ‘God’s blanket’.”

Narayanrao had a strong religious background to his bringing up and to the development of his faculties and personality. Early in his boyhood, he was initiated in the study of the Bible in the primary school conducted by the Christian Missionaries of Honavar to which he was sent by his grandfather. While he was a pupil of that school, there was a case of conversion in the town. The son of a Government officer was converted to Christianity. The news spread like wild fire and there was panic. Young Narayan's elders at home had an additional cause for anxiety which was furnished by something he had written in his note-book relating to the teachings of Jesus Christ. His maternal uncle, Sheshgirirao Kaikini, who came to know of it, had him withdrawn immediately from the Mission School. About the same time, however, Vithalrao Kaikini shifted his establishment from Honavar to Karwar when Kanara was divided into North and South Kanara, and Karwar became the District Town of North Kanara.

Trimbak Narayan Kirtane was Head Master of the Normal School in Karwar. One day, he was glad to see a new boy with bright eyes and a very intelligent look seeking admission to his school. He took him under his personal care.

The process of disintegration and expansion of the small, compact family circle had started in 1864. Shamrav was Vithalrao Kaikini's eldest son. Kanara provided too narrow a field for his ambitions. Bombay drew Shamrav away from the modest district town. He took a job there. After a few months he returned to Kanara where his abilities attracted the attention of Sir Raymond West, the District Judge. On Sir Raymond's recommendation, Shamrav was again transferred to Bombay where he was appointed to the post of Translator in Kannada in the High Court. While doing this job, he studied law and passed the High Court Pleader's Examination. He then left the job and started his professional career in which he soon earned a name for himself.

Shamrav decided that his nephew, Narayan, should have the benefit of the wider educational facilities which Bombay provided. Narayanrao was brought to Bombay in 1869. He was thirteen at the time. With him came his youngest maternal uncle, Manjunath, who was a year younger. Under Shamrav's discerning eye and stern care, the two lads began a course of training which went much farther than the instruction provided in the school or college.

St. Mary's School at Mazagaon was selected by Shamrav for his nephew. It is a little curious that of all the schools in Bombay, St. Mary's was chosen by him. His nephew had but recently been pulled out of the Christian atmosphere at Honavar, and Shamrav could not have been unaware of the alarm which had compelled his brother, Sheshgirirao, to act so promptly and decisively. It is, however, more than likely that Shamrav cared more for the reputation which Father Willy of St. Mary's had acquired as a great teacher.

In an obituary article on the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, which he contributed to the *Times of India* on June 22, 1923, Father Zimmerman of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, wrote:—

“It was Father Willy of St. Mary's School, Mazagaon, that young Narayan came under the influence of—that remarkable educationist—between 1869-73, at the age of about

15. Willy's personality appealed so strongly to Master Chandavarkar that he copied some of his teacher's habits such as rising early, clock-like regularity in life and work. Chandavarkar was at the school for a very short time, but during that short period and for ever after, there was a close link between pupil and master; a certain affinity of mind brought the two together, differ though they might in nation, age, condition, life, religion. Sir Narayan very rarely, if ever, missed an opportunity of showing his admiration for the character, work and ways of the teachers of his boyhood . . ."

One evening, one of the Fathers of St. Mary's was sweeping the rooms in the residential quarters and the staircase which led to them. Young Narayan who saw him doing this could not believe his eyes. He was a senior teacher and yet was sweeping and dusting the rooms of his colleagues among whom were his juniors. That spirit of service and the greater talent of humility, Narayanrao later realised, permeated the whole atmosphere at St. Mary's. It taught the young pupil a lesson which he was never to forget. His admiration for St. Mary's and for his old teachers did not diminish with the passage of years. Thirty-six years later, he was present at a function arranged by the St. Mary's Ex-students' Union in his honour. On that occasion, he announced that he had become a patron of the Union. Narayanrao learnt many things from Father Willy which made a lasting impression not only on his mind but also on his character. In his Convocation Address as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay in 1909, he recalled one of them. He said:

"I cannot convey the idea better than by putting it in the way it was put to a class in my time by the late Rev. Dr. Willy, then Rector of St. Mary's Institution, in looking over our Latin Compositions. "Look here," he warned us, "a man who does not write and speak correctly and accurately is not a gentleman. Incorrect writing and speaking means, first, carelessness. Carelessness becoming a habit leads to falsehood." Here was an ethical lesson conveyed to us, and he used to impress it in a variety of ways whenever he found us tripping in the use of any word or expression."

One day, one of the Catholic teachers was taking a class in the Holy Scripture. "‘It is a sin to be born in Asia!’ he declared in the course of his talk. He had gone so far in his excessive missionary zeal as to forget facts of history. Quick came a rejoinder from a Hindu boy who asked him, ‘Sir, was not Christ born in Asia?’ It was too much for the teacher to expect this remark from a pupil—too humiliating, as he regarded it, for him to accept it quietly. Poor Narayan! He had to suffer punishment for speaking the truth.

Narayanrao did not stay long at St. Mary’s—not longer than a year and a half. In 1870, he was sent to the Elphinstone High School. Why did he have to leave St. Mary’s? It is probable, as stated by Manjunathrao, his youngest maternal uncle, that young Narayan, by his extraordinary talents, had become Father Willy’s favourite. It was natural for Shamrav not to risk too great an influence not only of the teacher’s character but also of the Bible and its teachings to which the young, impressionistic mind of his nephew was becoming more and more devoted.

Narayanrao’s reputation as a scholar accompanied him to the new school. At St. Mary’s, he had taken Latin as his second language. Abaji Vishnu Kathavate, the renowned teacher of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone High School, was sorry to see that this boy’s talents should be bestowed on the study of a foreign classical language. He succeeded in his efforts to wean Narayan away from the study of Latin. Under Kathavate’s guidance and as a result of his tireless efforts, Narayan completed four years’ course of Sanskrit in a single year. How much in later life the unquestioned master of the Hindu Law texts that Sir Narayan became owed to this painstaking teacher of Sanskrit!

Narayanrao passed the Matriculation Examination in 1871 with distinction. He then joined the Elphinstone College which, in those days, met in a bungalow owned by Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney at Parel. The College had acquired not only a reputation but also a sanctity which gave the raw student entering its portals a sense of grandeur and

an attitude of reverence and awe about his task and responsibilities as its student. This is what Narayanrao thought of his College:

“The College consecrates the memory of a life and bears the name of one who, in several spheres of duty to which he was called by his Queen and his country, proved one of the most cultured, hard-working, high-minded Britons that gave of their best for India’s good and England’s glory.”

The names of such men as Sir Alexander Grant and Dr. William Wordsworth were identified with the past history of the institution. Among its past students were such distinguished alumni as Bal Shastri Jambhekar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Narayan Mahadeo Paramanand, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbak Telang and Pherozechah Mehta. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar preferred to call these great men Saptarshis “in the language familiar to us Hindus.”

Narayanrao entered the College full of enthusiasm and expectations which, in his own case and in the case of the other Elphinstonians of his time, were fulfilled richly and beyond measure. Dr. William Wordsworth, the Principal (grandson of the famous English poet and himself a man of great scholarship), Kashinath Trimbak Telang who was the Senior Dakshina Fellow of the College and the other teachers taught them, but more than by their teaching, by their example and character, and as he said, “Their work, their scholarship and high sense of duty have left behind fragrant memories which cannot fade.”

Narayanrao gratefully and with pride admitted that he “had the good fortune myself of learning in this institution during the period when Dr. Wordsworth was its Principal.”

It was not only the impressions that a student in a College hourly imbibes, but “There are sometimes chance incidents in college which even more than the repeated routine of college-life sink into the heart and shed a new light on life and work.”

One such chance incident occurred when Narayanrao was a student of the Elphinstone College.

“He (Dr. Wordsworth) was one day explaining a passage of poetry and as he came to the lines which speak of

‘The grandeur which invests
The mariner who sails the roaring sea
Through storm and darkness,’

and pointing to the wide expanse of the ocean, bounded by the horizon, visible from the window of his lecture-room in the college, he spoke with fervour of man’s capacity to fight evil, endure difficulties, and develop in himself qualities divine, it seemed as if his grandfather, the poet, shone in his face. As he went on for nearly half an hour decanting on the depth of meaning there was in the lines, I felt as if a cubit or two was added to my own stature, mental and moral. The College, then, within whose walls under such a teacher I with my fellow students was receiving such instruction, stood revealed to me in a new light, and, did I not, on that occasion, uplifted as it were above all my unworthiness by my Principal’s exposition, silently say to my college: “To-day, I have seen an Angel in thy face! ”*

Shamrav Vithal. Narayanrao’s uncle and guardian in Bombay. was a man of studious habits. He regularly visited Messrs. Radhabai Atmaram, a book-shop on Kalkadevi Street, to buy books. With him went his younger brother, Manjunath and his nephew, Narayan. Shamrav had the habit of taking notes from the books he read. His nephew caught from him his reading habit and also the habit of taking notes. These notes included not only important extracts from the book but also the reader’s own reflections and comments. Shamrav passed on the books to his nephew after he had read them. One day Shamrav was looking for a copy of Napoleon’s life which he had borrowed from Rao Saheb Mandlik. It was not to be found on his bookshelf. He was glad to

* Speeches and Writings, pp. 412-413.

discover that Narayanrao had taken it, and had taken notes after he had finished reading it.

G. S. (Dadasaheb) Khaparde of Amaravati was Narayanrao's contemporary at the Elphinstone College. In a letter to D. G. Vaidya, writer of the Marathi biography of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Dadasaheb Khaparde wrote:

"On entering its precincts, the first person I met was Chandavarkar, who was then, like me, one of the most recent entrants. He asked me who I was and what I wanted and I told him. He thought I would not get a room to live in. I thought I would. So in our first coming together, we agreed in some matters and differed in others, and it strikes me as a very strange coincidence that this little incident typifies all our relations through the many years that followed. We soon became friends and passed much time in each other's company. I found him very industrious and intelligent.

He soon attracted notice and became known to Principal Wordsworth, a very great honour in those days."*

Narayanrao wrote an essay on 'English Monasteries and their dissolution', and won a prize. It won high appreciation from Principal Wordsworth who was particularly impressed with the great pains the writer had taken to collect material for the essay and to arrange it so carefully. He sent for Narayanrao and asked him about the books he had consulted. In reply, Narayanrao told him that he could obtain a good deal of useful material in the notes he had taken from the old numbers of Edinburgh Review which he had found in his uncle's library.

In 1876, Narayanrao passed the examination for the degree of B.A. in the first class. Those who passed the examination in the first class in the same year included Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Vasudeo Gopal Bhandarkar, Manohar Vishnu Kathawate and Ravji Bhawanrao Pavgi. Jiwanji

* सर नारायण चंदावरकर यांचे चरित्र, पृ० ३३

J. Modi, Vishnupant Bhatawdekar, Govindrao Kanitkar and several others were placed in the second class. Narayanrao was appointed Dakshina Fellow immediately on his obtaining the degree of B.A. While he served as Dakshina Fellow, he had the good fortune of coming in more intimate contact with his Principal and with Prof. Kirkham, Professor of English, under whom he worked.

From Principal Wordsworth's testimonial to Narayanrao:

"I was very favourably impressed with the abilities and high moral character of Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar whom I found remarkably painstaking and industrious. His original compositions were distinctly above the average merit. He is a person of considerable literary culture but singularly free from presumption and vanity."

Four years after his graduation, Narayanrao took his degree in Law.

II

The Background

Coming out of the snug and warm surroundings of the College and emerging as a brilliant product of the University, Narayanrao looked around and his keen eye soon perceived that there was much in the atmosphere that called upon energetic young Indians to devote their strength and ability to the service of their country and their countrymen. Even while he was studying law, he felt an urge to identify himself with the reform movements that were already set afoot. The times were glorious, full of promise for the future. Forty years later, Narayanrao recalled those early impressions and exclaimed:

“ Oh! What a glorious thing it was in those years (after 1867) to be a young man! To be a young man! To be young. I may tell you, was then very heaven! ”

It was impossible for a young man of his talents and earnestness to keep himself aloof from the tide. He went on to say:

“ I witnessed those times; I attended most of the lectures; young as I then was, I followed the activities and movements of the day . . . We all felt the influences of the times.”*

The years of which Narayanrao spoke were, for various reasons, among the most momentous years of the nineteenth century. They were the successors to the brilliant period of Lord Dalhousie's administration as also to the upheaval of 1857. A century before, in 1757, the British footing was firmly planted in India at the Battle of Plassey. Sixty years later, the last great power in the land disappeared with the fall of the Peshwa, and the next forty years saw the most cherish-

* Speeches and Writings, P. 403

ed dreams of the conquerors materialised. The years during which Dalhousie was Governor-General constituted a glorious period in the history of the British power in India. As Sir William Hunter has put it, Lord Dalhousie "converted the stationary India of Wellesley into the progressive India of our own day." There was hardly any administrative department or field of activity on which Dalhousie did not leave the mark of his personality and far-reaching policy. He inaugurated a new era by founding the Indian Railway, and the Postal and Telegraph Systems. He reorganised the Public Works Department and introduced most beneficial reforms in the cultivation of cotton, flax and tea; he constructed canals, bridges and roads. The famous Dispatch of Sir Charles Wood which spread a vast net-work of educational institutions was issued in July 1854. Hunter calls this the crowning act of consolidation accomplished in India under Dalhousie for, as he goes on to say, "it has set in motion new forces, intellectual and political, whose magnitude it is impossible to gauge, but which the British Government now finds itself compelled to reckon with." The Dispatch gave rise to the three Indian Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857. When one remembers that among the first products of the University of Bombay were Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Pherozechah Mehta, Waman Abaji Modak, and Shankar Pandurang Pandit—all of whom were pioneers in the public life of India, one can easily understand how great a measure Wood's Dispatch was. Dalhousie left the shores of India in 1856, but the effects of his rule were yet to manifest themselves in the most spectacular way. This happened in 1857—a year rightly considered momentous in the making of modern India. What has for many years been known in Indian History as the Mutiny took place during the year. The Mutiny, or the Great Rising, or the first war of Indian Independence as it is now called, ended in a failure as far as its objectives were concerned, but it gave the first proof of the consolidation of the different parts of the country which was being brought about by the rule of a foreign power and under a single system of administration. It was also the popular reaction to the combined attack which was being made on Hindu

orthodoxy by a new system of education, by the new laws and the administration of Justice by the law courts, and by the activities of the Christian Missionaries. It is clear beyond doubt that the roots of the discontent that broke out in the happenings of 1857-58, were to be traced not only to the political acts of Dalhousie, the enforcement of his Doctrine of Lapse being the most notable of them, but also to the social reforms introduced by Lord William Bentinck. These happenings gave evidence of one great fact—the awakening among the people of India. They also marked the final closing down of the East India Company's rule over India and the transfer of all power and properties of the Company to the Crown. The transfer was marked by the proclamation by Queen Victoria in which it was stated:

“We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.”

It would be well to note here what the East India Company itself thought about its record in India. In a petition which the Company presented to Parliament in February 1858, it stated that—

“The government in which they have borne a part has been not only one of the purest in intention but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind; . . . And they are satisfied that whatever further improvements may be hereafter effected in India can only consist in the development of germs already planted, and in building on foundations already laid, under their authority, and in a great measure by their express instructions.”

What were those germs and what were those foundations? To find them we have only to turn to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speeches and writings which, as stated by Mr. K. Natarajan, “give us an insight into the forces that have been set in motion, and throw light on what is

dark and unintelligible in their operation. They have also the further value that we can trace in them many a forgotten episode in the history of social and religious reform (in Western India) from its early beginnings in the last century."

In the year 1886, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar contributed a series of articles to the *Times of India*. These articles were entitled "Forces at Work." With the keen eye of an ardent student of history, he has narrated briefly the history of events that led to an awakening among the people and created in them a desire for social reform and progress. The most important of these were the steps taken by the Company's Government to educate and elevate the minds of the Indians. There were persons at that time who were "wont to dilate on what they call the evils of English rule, and who have persuaded themselves that more harm than good has resulted from it to the country." According to Narayanrao, these writers seemed to forget the circumstances under which the foundations of Government's educational policy were laid. He went on to point out how

"England's object in laying the foundations of a liberal educational policy was higher than the object of mere self-interest."

This object was most eloquently stated by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his minute on education dated March 10, 1825. Elphinstone distinctly pointed out that

"The scope of his plan of education was not 'to provide clerks for public offices,' but 'to diffuse knowledge among all orders of the people of the country, and to concur with other causes in raising them in time to level with the European nations.'"

Narayanrao has boldly, and with confidence in his accurate knowledge of the history of the preceding fifty years, asserted that

“The earlier Anglo-Indian rulers who made the ‘India of the Queen’ were not mere soldiers, but they were also statesmen, and their statesmanship was marked by a high and noble sense of regard, not so much for the commercial and political aggrandisement of England as for the regeneration of India’s vast population.”

The forces which were released by the new system of education and were at work since the early twenties of the nineteenth century were slowly and surely, though imperceptibly, transforming the Indian community. Those forces exerted their influence in various ways. They introduced the Indian minds to the treasures of English literature and acquainted them with the lessons of British history which was the history of the rise and growth of democratic institutions in Britain. The early Indian leaders often spoke of the British rule in India as a Divine Dispensation. They were witnesses to and themselves the products of the benefits which the Indians derived from the educational policy of the Government. The Board of Education in their annual report of 1844 had claimed that the object of Government was to rouse the Indian mind from the torpor into which it had subsided for some hundred years past. That this claim was justified and well deserved could be seen from numerous instances. In the Bombay Gazette, a leading daily of those days, various letters condemning the British Rule in India were published long before the upheaval of 1857. They were signed by a “Hindu”, and the writer was Bhaskar Pandurang, younger brother of the illustrious Marathi Grammarian, Dadoba Pandurang. The following sentence is from one of these letters which appeared on August 20, 1844:

“We cannot look upon your government in any other light than that of the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with.”

The attitude behind this bold and fearless assertion cannot but be the direct outcome of the influence of the new system of education and the contact which educated Indians were thus enabled to have with Western ideas of freedom.

Other unmistakable signs of the awakening were provided by various organised efforts which were being made by Indians even before 1857 to represent their grievances and demands to the British Parliament. Among such efforts are the foundation of the British Indian Association in Calcutta in 1851 and of the Bombay Association in 1852. The East India Company's Charter was renewed after a period of 20 years. It was renewed in 1833, and before proposals for its further renewal in 1853 came before Parliament, the young educated men of Calcutta led by Babu Kristodas Pal proposed to send a deputation to England to ventilate their grievances particularly in connection with the appointment of Indians to higher posts in Government service. With a view to giving the deputation a representative character, the promoters first founded the British Indian Association in 1851. The people of Bombay did not lag behind. They started a similar organisation, the Bombay Association, with the veteran respected citizen of Bombay, Nana Shankarshet, as its first president. The petition sent by the Bombay Association to Parliament was favourably received in England. Commenting on it, one of the British Journals wrote:

"The Petition which has been transmitted to this country and the movement which it has originated prove that the people of Bombay, notwithstanding their diversities of race, are actually fitting themselves to receive, if not to extort, a due share of self-government under British institutions." (January 15, 1853).

The Bombay Association proved to be the training ground for leaders like Mandlik, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pheroze-shah Mehta, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Badruddin Tyabji and others. It marked and gave momentum to organised political activity which culminated thirty years later in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

In the field of social reform also the awakening was not less marked. Narayanrao, in one of his articles already referred to, wrote about "the forces which have been at work and which slowly and yet surely are socially transforming the

Hindoo community." These forces it was not easy to discover because they did not exert their influences openly and directly, but none the less, they were 'silently producing beneficial effects and furthering in a way the cause of social reform among the Hindoos. In 1821, a Brahmin from Poona, Gangadhar Dixit Phadke, went to Bombay and lived there for six years. He worked there as a Marathi tutor to the officers of the Marine Department. When he returned to Poona in 1827, he was immediately excommunicated on the ground that in going to Bombay he had crossed the sea. A few years later, however, he was called upon to give evidence as to the manner in which he had lived in Bombay, and then penance was administered to him and he was taken back. This was one of the many instances which, as stated by Narayanrao, illustrated how the back of Brahmanism was slowly being broken. In 1818, after the fall of the Peshwa, the new rulers, the British, offered pensions to the Brahmins—laymen as well as priests, who were the Peshwa's dependants. Many refused to accept the money at the hands of the *Mlenchchhas* first, but in course of time, they came round and not only accepted what was offered but started begging for what they had contemptuously rejected before. The Bombay Board of Education in its report for the year 1850-51 stated that

"It was impossible for the Board to ignore the great facts occurring within their ken—the female schools, publications for the diffusion of useful information, and vernacular lectures in Science, all conducted by the young men educated in the Elphinstone Institution."

These observations referred to the activities of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society which was founded on June 13, 1848. Among the promoters of the Society were Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, Jagannath Shankarshet, Bhagwandas Purshottamdas, Dr. Bhau Daji and Dadabhai Naoroji. The Society organised meetings at which papers were read and discussions were held on the social condition of India, in which the position of women and the necessity of education as a means of raising the country in the social scale occupied a

prominent place. Another society called the Dnyan Prasarak Sabha was started in the same year. Dadoba Pandurang was its first president. Among its most ardent members was M. G. Ranade who read several papers before it which included one on "The Duties of Educated Young Men", in 1859, another on "The Evils of Growth of Population", in 1864. The Widow Remarriage Association which was started in 1865 helped considerably in breaking the back of orthodoxy which opposed remarriage of widows on grounds of religion and tradition. All these organised efforts were undoubtedly the result of higher education.

The British Rulers helped the cause of social reform by enacting several laws favourable and conducive to it. In 1829 the practice of Sutee was abolished by law. In 1832 a law was passed prohibiting the killing of infant daughters by parents who did not want them to be a burden to them when they grew to the marriageable age,—a custom which was sanctioned by tradition and was in usage among some communities. The horrible institution of Thuggee was stamped out in 1836. Another law stopped the practice of committing suicide at holy places by leaping from a precipice or into the waters of holy rivers like the Ganges with the object of securing an easier passport to heaven. The Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. The law courts did not lag behind. In the third of his articles on "Forces at Work", Narayanrao gave several interesting instances to show how

"Our Civil Courts of Justice occupy a position which in several respects enables them to introduce changes of a progressive character into the Hindoo community. Like the Legislatures, they too are bound to decide all questions before them in accordance with the usages and customs of the community. Their authority is also limited, but they possess an advantage, which the legislature does not, in that the Hindoo Law is not codified and the ancient Hindoo law-givers, whose books are the accepted authorities of the land, are so many and among themselves differ on so many points that the British judge in India finds himself the master of a pretty large field where he can occasionally pick and choose in

accordance with his own enlightened instincts. It may not be in all, or even in the majority of cases, that he is able to do so, but that he is able to do so at all counts for a great deal in this matter. To his credit be it said, he has exercised his discretion most carefully. That he has felt his way cautiously and acted with due regard to the prejudices of the people with whom he has to deal is evident from the fact that those people have the highest confidence in our courts and regard them as the best defenders of their liberties and rights.... He is working quietly,.... but none the less he is working effectively."

The laws made by the rulers and the administration of justice gave the people protection from molestations and persecution at the hands of the champions of orthodoxy and the security and freedom from fear they enjoyed created an awakening among them and thus furthered the cause of social progress. In 1859 or thereabout, the Shankaracharya issued a bull in the case of some widows residing at Ahmednagar that their heads be shaved so that they could be permitted to live in society. When the widows refused to yield to the barbers, the Holy Father ordered them to be bound and then relieved of their hair. The women proved to be more than a match for him. With fortitude and determination worthy of admiration, they refused to be bound and reminded the Shankaracharya that they were no longer under the "rule of the Moguls." They further warned him that if the least force was tried on them, they would at once take the complaint to the Fouzdar and then it would be difficult for the Holy Father to leave Ahmednagar safely. This was altogether unexpected for the Shankaracharya who dropped the matter and contented himself merely with ordering the excommunication of the women. This incident is one of the numerous ones which illustrate how the cause of social progress was marching on defeating the purpose and plans of those who sought to perpetuate orthodoxy and blind allegiance to tradition.

In 1861, Karsondas Mulji created a stir by the bold campaign he led against the unjust acts of the Maharajas, the

gurus of his community. These *gurus* had a large following among the orthodox members of the community who silently acquiesced in their doings, believing that whatever the *gurus* did bestowed everlasting good on them in this world and in the next. The *gurus* sued Karsondas Mulji for defamation. The High Court's decision was a triumph for the champion of reform, and it struck at the very foundation of the institution of the *gurus*.

Another potent factor that furthered social progress was the Railways. They served to bring the people of different communities very close together and unified them more effectively and rapidly perhaps than any other single factor did. The first railway track was laid between Bombay and Thana in 1853, and a vast network of railways came into being during the next few years. People who availed themselves of the benefits and comforts of travel that the railway afforded gladly sat together and travelled together without distinction of caste or religion. An English writer who made his reputation in Bombay as a journalist in those days frequently remarked that the best, because the most efficient, social reformer in India was the Parsee who sold soda water at railway stations and carried on a silent crusade against caste.

This brief survey of the times would be incomplete without a mention of the activities of the Christian missionaries who in their own way carried on a campaign against the Indian society. Their main object and task was to preach and spread Christianity, and one essential feature of their activities was an attack on the religious beliefs of the Hindus and Muslims. They supplemented their direct missionary activities by founding schools and hospitals and conducting newspapers and periodicals. The first periodical in Marathi was started by the Missionaries. They offered rich prizes for the best essays on the religious practices and festivals of the Hindus, and the offer attracted enthusiastic young Hindu writers. All these activities had a profound effect upon the minds of intelligent and educated men who began to think seriously in terms of the futility and even evil effects of many of the Hindu religious and social practices.

Progress and reform in thought were evident in other directions as well. In Bengal, Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Brahma Sabha in 1815 for the purpose of holding religious services. At the same time an English gentleman of the name of David Hare, who cared very little for religion, started a College with the sympathy and support of Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, in Calcutta. One of the teachers of this College was an East Indian of the name of Derozio. He had great influence over the students. They frequented Derozio's house, dined at his table and gave practical proof of their condemnation of the superstitions of beliefs of the society in various ways. One day, they met in a house, ate beef which was forbidden by the religion of the Hindus. After finishing their meal, they ran into the street with beef-steaks in their hands and threw them into the house of an orthodox Hindu. This was their idea of attacking and removing orthodoxy. The matter developed into a crisis, led to prosecution, and then the enthusiasm of most of them cooled down. An organised effort was made in Bombay to get rid of caste by some enthusiastic young men under the leadership of Dadoba Pandurang. They started the Paramahansa Sabha, a secret organisation, in 1840. The Sabha admitted persons as members on condition that they did not observe caste. In proof of his sincerity, every member had to eat a slice of bread prepared by a Christian baker and drink water from the hands of a Muslim. The Sabha went on with its secret activities for some years until it came to a sudden ignominious end. One of the members carried away the account books and the list of the Sabha's members. This occurrence gave a death-blow to the organisation, and the Sabha collapsed. Out of the ashes of the Sabha rose, about twenty years later, another body which was founded by men with a more constructive outlook and approach, with greater faith and courage,—the Prarthana Samaj.

Such was the period during which Narayanrao was born and grew as a youth. The narrative enables one to have a true and adequate idea of the background of Narayanrao's work as a reformer, and also the working of his own mind

whose approach to everything he beheld and undertook was essentially historical. Hear his own testimony:

"I am one of those who cling to the belief that all reform, to be productive of good and lasting, must begin by taking into consideration the past history of the people."

In another place he says:

"If we are superficial students of history, if we are given merely to look at the outside aspect of things, no doubt there is a good deal in what is happening amongst us to damp our spirits, to make us feel disappointed.... But, as a humble student of history, as one who draws his faith from God, from humanity, and from his faith in progress being the order of the day in the kingdom of Providence, I believe that the signs which we are witnessing, so far from being depressing signs, are themselves a sign that we are on the path of progress."**

This became his approach and this became also his faith. Before he entered public life, he made a critical and analytical study of the past and the present, and planned for himself his own future and the future of his countrymen which he sought to erect on the foundation of hope and enthusiasm, of determination and a will to work, of a readiness to toil and to suffer, and, above all, of unfailing faith in God and in the progress of man.

This historical study and insight provided Narayanrao with the background on which he planned the structure of his life's purpose and work. That was not all. He needed and sought also light and inspiration. He found them around himself.

"Conscious as we were of the fact, that the religions of the country were a dark enigma, conscious as we were of the fact that country was divided into castes and creeds, we felt in the presence of the great enlightened and leading men

**Speeches and Writings, P. 405.

that then were working, that we were face to face with a future that, if then there was darkness that darkness would, within some years, be followed by a dawn, and that the sun was already on the morning hills, giving forth promises of a bright future for our country, which made even those of us who were at College feel inspired, ambitious to take our part in the activities for the cause of our country."*

The first rays of light that fell on his searching eyes came from

"this dear old College** of ours, and the distinguished alumni whom it has produced." He loved to call these, in the language familiar to Hindus, "Saptarshis." The first among these was Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar whom he spoke of as "the first outstanding star of the Elphinstone College." What filled Narayanrao with admiration particularly in Bal Shastri was that he was above all narrowness of creed or caste or sect. To him, Hindus, Parsis, Mahomedans and Christians were all alike. "In him you have an example of spotless life of unselfishness dedicated to the service of his country, a life of strenuous toil and methodical industry and human sympathy unwarped by narrow ideas of sect or creed." †

Narayanrao looked upon Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar "whose life of righteousness and piety ought to be an example to all of us", his Guru. He loved to call him "My Maharshi."

He regarded Narayan Mahadev Paramanand

".....as my guide for nearly fifteen years, and I am able to say that by reason of his saintly character, his broad sympathies, and sound judgment as well as his culture, he exercised great influence over and commanded the admira-

* Speeches and Writings. p. 403.

** The Elphinstone College.

† Speeches and Writings. p. 414.

tion and secured the love of distinguished Elphinstonians like Ranade, Telang, Bhandarkar and Sorabji Shapurji Bengali.”*

For Kashinath Trimbak Telang, he had respect as for a guide and he loved him with the love of a devoted friend. He felt that Telang’s

“purity of character and honesty of purpose, no less than his large heart, tolerant spirit and clear intellect, were most valuable adjuncts to the cause of social progress. We all believe in the law of evolution and that law teaches us that it is not all at once that the reformer of moral courage and action is produced. He will come in the fulness of time, but the man of action in social matters must be preceded by the man of thought. And Telang seems to me to have been designed by Heaven for our man of thought.”**

Among other leaders of thought and action who made a profound impression on Narayanrao’s young mind were Dada-bhai Naoroji in whom he saw “an example of a spotless life of unselfishness dedicated to the service of his country”, Pherozeshah Mehta “whose great talents, public spirit and independence of character have made him a power among us”, and Ranade, because of “his brilliant ability, untiring industry, and unsparing devotion to duty.”

Shortly after Narayanrao arrived in Bombay to join a school, his uncle, Shamrav Vithal, took him to the Prarthana Samaj. Shamrav Vithal was a man of very liberal views, and his conception of the education of his nephew extended far beyond the narrow precincts of the school or the limited scope of the knowledge acquired from books. The visit to the Prarthana Samaj was part of the general education he had planned for the boy. Narayanrao was too young to discern the meaning of the hymns, prayers and the sermon he had heard in the hall of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang’s house. But the sight that impressed him most and fastened

* Speeches and Writings—p. 414.

** Speeches and Writings—p. 334.

itself on his imagination was of the persons whom he saw there. His uncle, to gratify his desire as it were, pointed out to him, one by one, Atmaram Pandurang, Narayan Mahadev Paramanand, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Bal Mangesh Wagle, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Wasudev Babaji Nowrungay, Moroba Vinoba, and Bhaskar Hari Bhagwat. Narayanrao saw them and watched them with all the ardour and admiration natural to a boy soon after his arrival in the city for the first time. But there was something more abiding in his admiration than mere curiosity. It was a yearning to know them and to learn from them. This prayer of his heart was fulfilled before long, and he deemed this fulfilment as the lasting privilege of his life; and he regarded the leaders as "exemplars of my youth and guides of my manhood."*

Atmaram Pandurang, Bhandarkar, Nowrungay, Ranade, and the other leading lights of the Prarthana Samaj; Dada-bhai, Pherozeshah and Telang—these were the men whose views on religious, political and social reform Narayanrao made his own in his private life as well as in his public career. There were, however, those in public life with whose views he did not agree, and still he had the highest respect and veneration for some of them. Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik was an orthodox Brahmin and was staunch in his faith in the caste system. After Rao Saheb Mandlik's death, Narayanrao wrote about him in his article on "The Mandlik School":

"At heart, however, he was a man of the old school — he worshipped his idols, believed in caste and hated change. But he was a man of conviction."**

Still, Narayanrao loved and lingered "rather to look on some of the finest points of the Rao Saheb's career, both public and private," and exclaimed, "Mandlik! thou shouldst be living at this hour!" as the poet Wordsworth exclaimed about Milton. He went on to say:

*Introduction to Dr. Bhandarkar's Writings and Sermons, P. 11.

** Speeches and Writings—p. 32.

"As a journalist of his time, dealing with some very knotty questions of social reform, I had some hard things to say of him; but those were days of heated controversy and impassioned writing and it is perhaps a penalty of human nature that we have sometimes to pay, that we never know the true value of a great man until we have lost him."†

Narayanrao revered the Rao Saheb because

"There was a true ring about Rao Saheb Mandlik's orthodoxy, however much one might feel inclined to reject it as a faith well-nigh played out. And what added grace to the iron orthodox spirit of the man was his exemplary devotion to his invalid wife. In that respect, he towered high above his countrymen, and if I were asked why he deserves to be remembered as one of our great and good men that have passed away, leaving fond memories behind, I should answer that his resolute and manly spirit, his genuineness of conviction, and his faithful devotion to his wife make of him a moral man, worthy of reverence in our eyes—in the eyes of even those who differed from him on the question of social and religious reform."‡

With these lights to show him the path and with the mental and moral equipment which his life at college gave him, Narayanrao entered the arena of public life with his mind linked with the past, but at the same time, with his eye of imagination taking a full and, as time showed, a correct view of the future, to employ the light vouchsafed to him by his Maker in the service of his country and countrymen.

†Speeches and Writings —P. 32.

‡Speeches and Writings —P. 33.

III

The Indu Prakash.

Among the good things which the early Europeans brought with them to India was the introduction of the art of printing. In the year 1556, on September 6, a Portuguese printer brought with him the first printing press. He landed in Goa with it and established his concern in St. Paul's College. The first Marathi book to be printed in this press was the "Krista-puran" composed by Father Thomas Stephen which was published in 1616. The language of this book was Marathi but it was printed in the Roman script. From these early beginnings, the art of printing steadily marched on to confer its boons increasingly on the Indians. On January 29, 1780, James Augustus Hicky started the first Indian Periodical in Calcutta. It was named "Hicky's Bengal Gazette" or the "Calcutta General Advertiser." Nine years later, in 1789, the first newspaper of Bombay, the "Bombay Herald", saw the light of day. In 1822, Fardunji Marzban started the Bombay Samachar in Gujarati. This was the first paper to be printed in an Indian language in Bombay. It was followed by the first Marathi newspaper, the Bombay Durpun, in 1832. The founder and first editor of this paper was Bal Shastri Jambhekar. In course of time, the press became a useful means of carrying the word and thus educating the people, and to those who championed the cause of reform, it was a powerful medium of spreading their message.

"Ah, what a powerful redresser of people's wrongs! What a potent incentive to all kinds of goodness! What a terror unto kings and unto those who feed upon the ignorance of the people!"

It would be an over-statement of facts if one were to interpret these words in which Ranade expressed his admiration and awe for the power of the press while he was

yet in college, as his reaction to what the Indian newspapers were actually accomplishing in those days. It would certainly be more correct to regard his statement as the product of his study of the power of the press in general. However, men like Ranade could not have missed the opportunity, when it presented itself, of wielding the weapon for attacking ignorance and for instilling into their minds an urge and a liking for reform.

In 1861, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, popularly known as Lokahitawadi, came to Bombay. He was a Government servant and was transferred from Poona to Bombay. Twelve years before, in 1849, Lokahitawadi had started the "Dnyan-Prakash" in Poona. When he came to Bombay, Bal Shastri Jambhekar was dead, and soon after his death, had also disappeared his 'Durpun'. Lokahitawadi's mission in life was to enlighten his fellowmen. Wherever he went he did all he could to rouse the thoughts of the people. He saw that Bombay's sore need was a newspaper in Marathi. So he founded the "Indu Prakash", a weekly with the Marathi and English Sides. In Vishnu Shastri Pandit, an earnest worker in the cause of reform, Lokahitawadi found a valuable colleague. He was entrusted with the task of writing for the Marathi columns and, week after week, Vishnu Shastri poured his heart's yearnings in these columns for the betterment of the lot of the widow whose cause he championed and made his life's mission. Ranade wrote on the English side of the paper. In the able and earnest hands of these two reformers, Indu Prakash soon gained both in popularity and prestige.

K. T. Telang was one of the regular contributors to the Indu Prakash. In 1878, the English editor of the weekly, Mr. A. J. S. Kirtikar, resigned as he found a job in the Palitana State. Telang had seen a good deal of the spark that was in Narayanrao. He recommended the young graduate, full of promise and a burning desire to serve his country, for the office which had fallen vacant. Narayanrao was 22 at the time. He accepted the responsibility without hesitation because, as has already been seen, he was one of

those students at College who felt "inspired to take our part in the activities for the cause of our country." Leaders and powerful writers like Ranade had taught these students to look upon the newspaper not only as "a potent incentive to all kinds of goodness," but as a very valuable training ground for public work. Narayanrao became editor of the *Indu Prakash* in 1878 and continued to hold the charge for more than ten years.

Ranade was editor of the English columns of *Indu Prakash* for a few months only, and after he had relinquished charge of the editorship, it had fallen into mediocre hands. It is recorded that during the fifteen years that followed Ranade's resignation, the English side was somewhat neglected. It was clear to Narayanrao that in recommending his name for the work, Mr. Telang's object was to see that the English side was raised to a higher level. Even during his school days, Narayanrao had closely observed and followed the trends in Indian journalism.

In 1909, he wrote:

"I passed as pupil through more than one school, both in Bombay and the mofussil, during that period, and I know it as a fact that young men took to oratory and newspaper, reading with much zest but without guidance or control."*

The two leading dailies in those days in Bombay were the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*. Mr. Martin Wood, Editor of the *Times*, wrote with calmness and dignity. But to young men, calmness and dignity in writing did not prove attractive. Young as they were, they preferred to have something "spicy" and sensational and personal. This they found in the columns of the other daily, the *Bombay Gazette*. Mr. J.M. Maclean was both the proprietor and editor of the paper and his writings caught the fancy of the younger men on account of the abundance of vituperation, ridicule and raillery of opponents. Mr. Maclean described educated In-

*Speeches and Writings—PP. 372.

dians as "a brood of vipers", and college Professors as men paid liberal salaries by an unwise Government to spend six months of the year in rearing "sedition-mongers", and the rest in doing nothing but idling away their time in long vacations. It is noteworthy that the students who devoured greedily Mr. Maclean's writings were captivated only by the spicy and vituperative style, and probably it mattered very little to them that his attack was directed against educated Indians also. Mr. Maclean did not leave alone Government officials, and he wrote even about Governors in a spirit of irreverence. It was this tone of his writings also that exercised a great influence on the minds of the young men, for whom it became an ambition to write as Mr. Maclean did. Narayanrao had noticed that many of the Indian writers and editors of those days adopted as a model Mr. Maclean's vituperative style whose predominant note was irreverence. Among these writers and editors, Narayanrao has made a particular mention of "the talented author of the Nibandha Mala—the late Mr. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar who, as he proceeded to point out, "ranks in history as the founder of the cult which, both by precept and example, preached the so-called independence of spirit to young men and ridiculed notions of reverence on their part towards their elders."*

Narayanrao has described in elaborate detail the school preaching through writings the gospel of irreverence. He pointed out that that school appeared on the scene in the Bombay Presidency about the year 1878. That was the year in which he was called upon to take up the editorship of the Indu Prakash. Holding as he did these considered and definite views on the style of the average Indian editor of the time, he must have had equally firm and clear notions about the responsibilities of an editor and the correct attitude and style an editor should adopt and cultivate if he is to carry out his task with justice and fairness to all, with dignity and restraint in his criticism and, above all, about the editor's main function which was to train and mould public opinion in the right way. As his writings clearly

*Speeches and Writings—P. 374.

show, he did not regard it as the correct aim of the editor to command the admiration and attention of the readers by spicy and sensational writings. Soon after he assumed charge of the editorship, he wrote to Mr. Ranade whom he evidently looked upon as a guru in public life in general and in this field of public activity in particular. Ranade's reply was frank but nevertheless helpful. He wrote:—

“Avoid prolixity in your articles and bestow more attention and energy on your editorial notes, because this is a busy age and people have no time to read long articles. Let your editorial notes be short, terse, crisp; let them be *Parthian shots*.”

One mark of a great editor is his power of presenting a case in such a way as to induce the readers to accept it as the only acceptable one, but without getting away from facts or twisting them to his own purpose. For this purpose, his own allegiance to the case he handles or supports ought to be a matter of conviction and not merely one of opinion or even aggressive defence. During the period in which Narayanrao edited the *Indu Prakash* and, in fact, during the thirty or forty years that followed, there were others who perhaps were more successful in wielding the pen, but their writings were noted more for their vehemence and the aggressiveness with which they attacked their opponents than for their faith in their own cause. Narayanrao accepted the task of editing the English side of the *Indu Prakash*, because he felt an urge. The urge was to serve his country, and as he looked around he saw that there was nothing more useful that he could undertake than the medium of the press to educate the people and to rouse them to their duties and responsibilities.

It was the age of reform. Everybody liked to call himself a reformer.

“The so-called educated reactionaries among the Hindoos are, in spite of themselves, feeling the need of progress and wish to show that it is they who are the true reformers

Both the party of reform and the party of opposition have been formed, and the first stage of progress, namely, discussion,—has been at all events reached. Higher education, if it has achieved nothing else, has achieved this at least that it has set those who have received it thinking. The spirit of enquiry and restlessness is abroad.”*

Narayanrao's task as editor was not merely to advocate reform and social progress. It was more difficult than that. He regarded it as his duty to throw the light of reason on the various currents of thought in order to show who the true reformer was and which was his true path and, for this purpose, to show those reactionaries who paraded about in the reformer's skin in their real colours. Among the burning controversies which engaged the minds of all thinking men of that period was the question: Should social reform precede political reform? It was this question and the views expressed on it by men belonging to different schools of thought, both reactionary and progressive, that engaged Narayanrao's editorial energies for some time. Some people tried to argue—Anglo-Indian papers and Englishmen in India were prominent among them — that

“There ought to be total cessation of political activity and that all our energies should be directed to removing the anomalies of our social system”.

Obviously, the object of those who argued in this way was to wean the people away from all political agitation and activity. There were others who tried to show that reform of the society was a domestic matter, and what mattered more was that on most questions there was no unanimity. Political reform, on the other hand, was something which was desired and aimed at by people of all communities and it did not divide the people into different camps hostile to one another as social reform did or was supposed to have done. Narayanrao steered clear of these opposite views both of which were ill-conceived and were calculated to mislead

*Speeches and Writings—P. 15

the people into political inactivity or social deterioration. He convincingly cautioned even those to whom the cause of social reform was dear to beware lest they should be carried away by those who argue in favour of social reform with a view to saving Government from criticism and popular discontent. A new situation was created by certain views which Mr. K. T. Telang gave expression to in the course of a lecture in 1886. These views, as Mr. Telang expressed them, gave the people the impression that in matters of social reform the best course was to move along lines of least resistance. What Mr. Telang actually meant, as he later explained to Narayanrao himself, was "to emphasise in his lecture nothing more than an ordinary tendency of individuals and societies to move forward avoiding conflict and inconvenience as far as possible, and not to lay down reform along the lines of least resistance as a principle of action." Mr. Ranade felt, and Narayanrao agreed with him, that "the principle of reform having a tendency to run along the line of least resistance was apt to be misunderstood." Narayanrao therefore dealt with the episode exhaustively and in a manner which sought to disengage the minds of the people from any misconception, and at the same time to explain to them Mr. Telang's position and his real attitude to reform. He analysed the case in the editorial columns of the Indu Prakash as follows:—

(1) In the case of political reform we have a Government which is ready to grant our wishes if we show ourselves worthy of its trust; in the case of social reform we have a mass of ignorance, tradition and unwillingness to operate upon. Mr. Telang compares the Government and the Hindu population to two forts against which the army of reform has to fight, and asks: Can there be any doubt that the wisest course for that army is to take first the fort, represented by the Government, where we have numerous and powerful friends among the garrison and which is held against us only in order to test first whether we shall be able properly to use any larger powers that may be conceded to us then? As to the other, soldiers of the old garrison are not* in the least

ready to give up; in some respects we have got even to forge and learn to wield the weapons by which we have to fight them.

(2) On the side of the Government we have to fight against reason and intellect, whereas in the case of the population, feelings and sentiments have to be overcome which is a much tougher fight than the first.

(3) In the cause of political reform, it is much easier to unite and we do, as a matter of fact, unite under a sense of common grievances, whereas in the other case there is no common platform on which to meet.

Renowned leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Pheroze-shah Mehta also took a balanced view of Mr. Telang's utterances, but his lecture came in for severe criticism at the hands of a section of the Press. The Pioneer, in criticising Mr. Telang as a man opposed to social reform, tried its best to raise to the skies Mr. B. M. Malabari who had started a campaign in support of the Age of Consent Bill which sought to lay down the age at which girls might be allowed to live with their husbands. Narayanrao, through the columns of the Indu Prakash, hit back by pointing out that what the Pioneer in reality was aiming at was to dissuade people from participating in political activities. He deprecated the Pioneer's intention to create discord between two trusted and respected leaders that Telang and Malabari were. He wrote:

"The Pioneer may flatter Mr. Malabari by calling him a prophet and may denounce Mr. Telang as a schoolboy orator, but they knew each other too well to be led by the judgment of the Pioneer; and the people at large, at least in Western India, know how to value the services of each in their respective spheres of activity."

The stand that the Indu Prakash, in Narayanrao's able hands, took was that it was idle to argue that only one type of reform can engage the attention and energies of the people,

and that political reform should either follow or precede social reform. Boldly and with the firm background of the knowledge of history as well as of the trends in current thought, he endeavoured to lead the readers towards the attitude and line of thinking which accept this position, namely, political and social reform can go together hand in hand and thus to meet the efforts of those who sought to defeat the advocates of social reform by boosting political reform, or of those who were anxious to turn the minds of the people away from political activity which, they pointed out, necessarily meant criticism of and discontent towards the Government.

Another prominent feature of the work of a successful editor is the length and breadth of his vision. Narayanrao took a long view of the problems of his day and considered their far-reaching importance and effects. One was the highly controversial question of reform by legislation. In two pamphlets which he wrote and circulated among officials and leaders of public opinion, Malabari had given publicity to his proposals for asking Government to pass laws to lay down the minimum age for the consummation of marriage of girls, and regulating Hindu marriages in a general way. At a meeting held under the auspices of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Mr. Vasudevrao G. Bhandarkar spoke on this subject of reform by legislation. According to the *Indu Prakash*, "The lecturer seemed to be for non-interference on the part of the state in the regulation of our social customs." According to the same report, all those present except one were in agreement with the point of view expressed by Mr. Bhandarkar. Narayanrao was the only one person present who did not support the view. He wrote:

"Laws must be made—and have, in fact, been made—in every civilised country in accordance with the wishes of the majority and that is the principle on which all public transactions are conducted because no other principle, humanly speaking, is practical."

At the same time, he felt that

"Government need not always look upon the wishes of the majority as the criterion for enacting laws to remove social evils." for,

"Where a social custom is grossly of a perverse nature, opposed to all sense of decency and humanity, whether a majority wishes for a change in it or not, the State ought to put it down."

The Government had already adopted this policy in making laws to prohibit such inhuman social customs as the suttee or infanticide. In emphasising the need for legislation for the eradication of social evils, Narayanrao invited the attention of his readers to the tendency of the law courts to decide cases brought before them in accordance with such old customs and traditions, as had acquired the status of laws because of long usage. Would it be wise, Narayanrao asked, for us to keep quiet and allow the law courts to regard such customs as legal authority, although we know full well that the customs are evil and bring good, if at all, to those who seek to perpetrate the social evils? In 1884, considerable stir was caused in the Hindu society by an incident which brought one of such social evils clearly to light. It was the suit brought by a Hindu of the name of Dadaji for the handing over to him of Rakhmabai, a girl who was married to him when she was 13 and he was 20. Rakhmabai was the daughter of the second wife of Dr. Sakharam Arjun by her first marriage. Rakhmabai had continued to stay with her mother and her step-father, who regarded her as his own daughter, for some time after her marriage, and when she grew older, she refused to go to her husband's house on the plea that the atmosphere in his house was uncultured and far from decent. The Court's decision was in Rakhmabai's favour but when Dadaji made an appeal, the case came up for revision and the decision was against her. The decision, in effect, was that a Hindu woman who was married in childhood must go and live with her husband although, as was stated on her behalf, he was unequal to her and, according to her mature judgement, was repulsive

on grounds which were clearly stated. One noteworthy feature of this episode was that those who were working for social reform took up Rakhmabai's cause with great zeal. Actually a "Rakhmabai Defence Committee" was established, and a Defence Fund was started. Principal Wordsworth of the Elphinstone College was the moving figure in these efforts. Narayanrao took up this episode for discussion in the columns of his paper, and, indeed, it provided him with a concrete illustration in support of his argument that where ancient customs continue to exist, the law courts are inclined to give them the status of law much to the detriment of social progress.

In 1832, when Sir Andrew Scoble's Bill which proposed to protect child-wives under 12 years of age from outrage on the part of their husbands was before the Central Legislative Council, Narayanrao rendered great service to this feature of social reform by contributing to the Bombay Gazette an article, which was in the nature of a learned thesis, giving a comprehensive historical retrospect of the policy administered by the legislature from the time of Warren Hastings. The article enumerates the various Regulations enacted by the British Government from time to time since 1817 to put down inhuman practices sanctioned by custom and went on to prove that all these enactments had proved to be unmixed blessings and, therefore, justified legislative interference in social matters when they affected the well-being of the society as a whole.

In 1884, a school for girls was opened in Poona, to give them English education or post-primary education which, in those days, was called higher education. For quite some time, a terrible war of words continued to rage between the Indian newspapers over this question. Among those which wholeheartedly supported the cause of higher education for girls was the Kesari which was then edited by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. He had to cross swords with the Native Opinion. While in the editorials on the Marathi side, the Indu Prakash betrayed a marked tendency towards attacking the new venture in Poona, Narayanrao, in his English editorials, supported it

and, as usual, treated the subject in a comprehensive manner. Without confining himself to the immediate task of supporting those who had started the Poona school for girls, he discussed such wider issues as the medium of instruction in schools. Narayanrao was an admirer of English literature and had acquired a mastery over the English language which was rare, but he decried the tendency to give undue importance to English in schools to the detriment of the mother tongue. It was unfortunate, he wrote, that 'we are inclined to study Shakespeare with greater zeal than Tukaram and Moropant.'

"So completely are we being denationalised that there is fear of our vernacular being extinct one day."

Fortunately, Narayanrao's fears have, as time has shown, proved groundless, but it is worthy of note that at a time when educated people were all for English education and when praise for the blessings of the English language was never considered overdone, one who loved the language so much did not allow his love for it to make him so blind as not to be aware of the place which the mother tongue ought to have in any scheme of education.

In 1890 or thereabout, Mr. Chunilal Lalubhai Parekh brought out a publication which he called "Eminent Indians" in which he gave short biographical sketches and a few select speeches of those public men who had come to be regarded as representative Indians and as leaders of political thought and activities. Among those selected by Mr. Parekh for his book was N. G. Chandavarkar who, with Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang, Javerilal Yajnik, Badruddin Tyabji and D. E. Watcha, represented Bombay. The following paragraph is reproduced from the biographical sketch of Narayanrao which was included in the book:—

"Soon after leaving College Mr. Chandavarkar was appointed in 1878 to edit the English columns of the Indu Prakash which he did with marked success till 1889."

Under his (Chandavarkar's) editorship the paper (Indu Prakash) acquired the reputation of a first class journal. While there was an agreeable variety of subjects in the articles appearing in the paper, each one of them was generally the result of considerable thought and information. Few native papers have been edited with ability and knowledge displayed by Mr. Chandavarkar during the time that he was in charge of that paper. Its opinions received their due weight in the highest quarters where it was looked upon as a leading liberal organ of educated native thought."

IV

Mission To England

Lord Lytton was Governor-General from 1876 to 1880. He became very unpopular on account of the Vernacular Press Act, known as the 'Gagging Act', which subjected the newspapers to restrictions which were severe. Lytton resigned in 1880 as the Conservative Party of which he was a member was overthrown in England in the Parliamentary Elections. Lord Ripon who succeeded him repealed the Press Act and entered upon a series of internal reforms which made his name dear to the people of India. Among the measures which made Lord Ripon popular was the Ilbert Bill. The object of this Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Ilbert, Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, was to confer upon Indian Judges and Magistrates the jurisdiction over European offenders which they had over Indians. The Bill was fiercely opposed by Europeans. There was a great agitation, and finally a compromise was arrived at by which European offenders were given the privilege of trial before a jury half composed of Europeans. The agitation over the Ilbert Bill and Lord Ripon's liberal policy created an awakening among the educated Indians and roused into activity those forces which were suppressed for a time by Lord Lytton's 'Gagging Act'. The educated men now felt that they should organise themselves, not only to prove themselves worthy of the reforms introduced by Ripon and strive for more, but also with a view to combating reactionary measures such as were adopted by Lytton in case they were repeated by other Viceroys. The political awakening was seen everywhere. The Bombay Presidency Association was formed in Bombay in January 1885 and was inaugurated at a public meeting held on January 31 in the Framji Cowasji Institute under the inspiration and active guidance of the three leaders, Badrud-din Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and K. T. Telang—whom Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay, spoke of as "the trium-

virate known as the Bombay Presidency Association." The Association immediately took up the question of organising energetic and systematic propaganda in England to acquaint the English public with conditions in India and the political aspirations and demands of the Indian people. The General Election in England was to be held soon, and the time was considered propitious for some concrete step. A letter written by 'an English Elector' appeared in one of the newspapers in Bombay in which suggestions which supported the move contemplated by the Bombay Presidency Association were made. The Council of the Association took up the matter seriously and wrote to friends in the other Presidencies for co-operation. It was originally decided to send a large number of leaflets for circulation in England dealing with subjects affecting the well-being of the people of India. The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, under the able and enlightened leadership of Mr. Ranade, proposed that a delegation may be sent to England for propaganda work and offered to finance it out of funds which were collected for the purpose. It was decided that three delegates, one from each of the three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras and Bengal, should be sent to England to address meetings, to deliver lectures etc. so as to create interest in Indian problems and plead India's cause. N. G. Chandavarkar was selected as the representative from Bombay, the other two being, Mun Mohan Ghosh from Bengal and Ramaswami Mudaliar from Madras.

Narayanrao sailed on Tuesday, September 8. None in his own house had the remotest idea of his departure. The only member of his family who knew about it was his uncle, Shamrav Vithal, and all preparations for the journey were made by his friend and physician, Dr. Da Gama. On the day he sailed, he left his house at the usual hour. He called near him his daughter Sundari, who was a little less than two years old at the time, and his sister's son, Umesh, and caressed them before he left. He avoided meeting the others—his mother, his wife and his sister, who were in the house—lest tears at the thought of the parting should betray him. He met Dadabhai Naoroji, Mama Parmanand and Dr. Atmaram Pandurang and took leave of them. Among those pre-

sent at the pier to wish him God-speed were Shamrav Vithal, Dr. Da Gama, Vaman Abaji Modak, and Vishnupant Bhatawdekar.

In an article which appeared in England in the Daily News, it was observed:

"It is of particular importance that Indian opinion should be ascertained and studied in this country at the present time. For there is a set of pretentious busy bodies who on the strength of having read a little Indian History, and imbibed a good deal of the worst sort of Anglo-Indian prejudice, are posing as the sole authorities on Indian subjects."

Narayanrao had the first taste of the Anglo-Indian prejudice referred to in the above passage during the voyage. He was the only Indian on board the steamer, for his two colleagues did not travel with him. On the very first day, he found that there was no card bearing his name on the table in the common dining room. All the other passengers had found theirs and had taken their seats. He had therefore to sit apart, by himself. During dinner, the talk was on politics in India. Whoever talked made a comment and was careful to show his unawareness of the presence of an Indian in the dining room and, at the same time, to see that his voice reached his ears. Every one talked with full confidence in his own knowledge of the Indian situation. "The natives are in no way fit to govern themselves" one remarked, "and never will be." Another threw out the suggestion that an experiment might be tried by giving them powers of administration for a period of six months and the chaos be watched with interest. A third one, who was a Christian Missionary, told his listeners that those who conducted the political movement in India were school children. So long as the non-Indian passengers allowed Narayanrao to be a passive listener, he was content to be so. Moreover, it was clear to him that to argue with persons with such deep-rooted prejudices would be worse than useless.

On September 27, Narayanrao landed on the English soil. At once he—rather his turban—became an object of interest

and the passers-by eyed him with curiosity. On the day of his arrival—it was a Sunday—he attended a service in a church. Mr. Martin Wood and Mr. William Digby were among those he met on the first day. Mr. Digby had been in India for several years and had done selfless solid work for the famine-stricken people in the south during the famine of 1876-77. He was one of those whose names were recommended to the British electors at a meeting held in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association prior to Narayanrao's departure. For Indian aspirations Mr. Digby had profound sympathy. In him Narayanrao found a close companion and valuable guide during his stay of two months and a half in England. Mr. Digby was at the time Secretary of the National Liberal Club where Narayanrao stayed. Soon after his arrival, Narayanrao met Mr. A. O. Hume who, later in the year, played a leading role in bringing about a meeting of leaders of the different parts of India which became immortal in history as the beginning of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Hume did not much approve of the visit of the three Indians. He told Narayanrao that a visit after the Elections would have been more profitable. A few days later, an informal meeting was held at the National Liberal Club to work out the details of the tour of the Indian delegates. Mr. Hume not only attended the meeting but accepted the chair. His attitude at the meeting was quite sympathetic. The letter which the Indian delegates had brought with them was read out at the meeting and, at the instance of Mr. Digby, several committees were formed for organising meetings in different places to give the delegates an opportunity to talk to the British people.

Mrs. Webster was another person in whom the delegates found a sincere friend. She was seeking election to the London School Board and was known for her fearless advocacy of honest and upright dealing in public life. She gave some practical and valuable advice to her Indian visitors. She told them that they would find the best friends among the workers through whose sympathy and understanding the Indian case would reach the ears of the members of the Parliament. Narayanrao readily accepted the advice and

from that day he made it a point to meet the workers for the two-fold purpose of knowing them intimately and creating in them a genuine sympathy for the well-being and progress of the Indians.

The Indian delegates had arrived in England on the eve of the General Elections and found themselves in the midst of the excitement and enthusiasm that the election campaign had roused. It was an education for them to see how the English people conducted the election. Everyone was conscious of his right as an elector and proud of his freedom to vote and thus to have a hand in electing representatives who constituted the body which made laws for him and for his nation and controlled the administration. Everywhere election posters were displayed calling upon the voters to vote for a particular candidate but the candidate's name was not so important as the party he belonged to, and keen interest was shown by the voters in the contest between the Liberals and the Conservatives. Free use of superlatives and choice words of praise or abuse was indulged in at election meetings. At a Conservative Party meeting, Gladstone, the great Liberal leader, came in for such epithets as 'the Arch humbug' while the Liberals described the Conservative leader, Lord Randolph Churchill, as "a politician with a very elastic conscience" or as one "given to stealing their coats." Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was stigmatised as a "plunderer of other people's property." Even the church and the stage were not free from the excitement and party strife. An owner of a book-shop once lent his carriage to Mr. Gladstone. The "Grand Old Man" had dropped in to buy a book. The crowd which had gathered to see him made it impossible for him to walk back home. A clergyman who came to know of this act, asked the owner of the shop to remove his name from the list of his customers from that day. Sermons were delivered in churches in which the people were warned that if they voted for the Liberals and supported the Liberal Party, the Church was doomed. Narayanrao went to a theatre to see a dramatic performance. He heard one of the actors on the stage saying something, which, of course, was his own interpolation, to ridicule Mr. Chamberlain, but as soon as he found that the

audience was pro-Chamberlain, he turned his words of ridicule on Mr. Chamberlain's political opponents.

Narayanrao and his colleagues attended most of the meetings which were held during the election campaign. These meetings were mostly organised on party lines and addressed by the candidates. Two of the biggest meetings were held at Birmingham. The first of these was addressed by Mr. Chamberlain and was attended by about three thousand persons. The second one was held to hear Mr. John Bright, the great Liberal leader. Narayanrao was profoundly impressed with the great enthusiasm with which the people applauded the leaders, and particularly with the great respect they showed for Mr. Bright.

Meetings were organised to enable the Indian visitors to address the British people and tell them about the Indians and their aspirations. One of these meetings was held for the purpose of replying to certain unfounded allegations made against the Indian delegates by Sir Lewis Pelly who was known for his anti-Indian feelings. Some interested persons were present to create trouble at the meeting. They started shouting, "Who are these Indian delegates? Who sent them here?" A gentleman who commanded the respect of the audience rose and calmly reminded the people of the fact that the Indian delegates were present as their guests and therefore were entitled to courteous treatment. He asked the audience not to tolerate the presence of those persons who were trying to disturb the smooth course of the proceedings. His words had the desired effect. The leader of the anti-Indian group was brought to the platform and given a seat next to the chairman of the meeting. Narayanrao spoke after the other two delegates had spoken. The meeting was held in a church and on the wall in front of the platform were written these words: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on Earth and good-will unto men." Narayanrao began by solemnly repeating these words and asked his listeners to remember that the place where they had met was no ordinary place and that it was the house of God. He went on to say that although Sir Lewis Pelly had indulged in criticism which

was inspired by prejudice and hatred, nothing was farther from their own minds than a desire to answer him in similar words. He asked them to remember that although they (he and his colleagues) were not British, they were gentlemen all the same, and that they did not forget even for a moment that they could not indulge in bad language. Narayanrao's words were received with great enthusiasm, and the people seemed to appreciate the spirit in which the Indian delegates were inclined to notice the attacks against their mission. At another meeting, Narayanrao was trying to refute a rumour which a certain Conservative candidate had spread to the effect that the real purpose of the visit of the Indian delegates was to plead for Lord Ripon whose regime as Governor General was remarkable and beneficial in many respects. The audience was pro-Liberal and some of those present wanted Narayanrao to disclose the name of the Conservative candidate. Narayanrao asked them not to press but, when the audience would not listen to him and went on shouting, Narayanrao said that he did not want the man to gain publicity and that was why he did not disclose his name. He spoke to the members of the Somerville Club, a women's club, on Social Reform in India. In the course of his talk, he gave an account of the widow-remarriage movement, the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj. After finishing his talk, he agreed to answer questions. From the questions he was asked to answer, Narayanrao was agreeably surprised to see the interest the ladies took in Indian affairs and particularly in the progress of the Indian women, and their desire to have a complete picture of Indian conditions which they could not have from the scattered and scanty reports which reached them through the papers. One of the ladies referred to a series of letters which had appeared in the "Times of India" and were signed by "A Hindu Lady". They were, as Narayanrao discovered later, written by Dr. Rakhmabai and dealt with her own case and the general question of the marriage of Hindu girls. Many other meetings were held which the Indian delegates attended and addressed. Wherever they went they were cordially received and listened to with patience and interest. Narayanrao usually began his speech

with an apology for his inadequate knowledge of English and appealed to his audience for patience. His modesty and the appeal he made always had a very desirable effect and the audience listened with interest to the vivid account he gave of the political conditions in India.

Among the lasting memories Narayanrao brought back with him were those of the personal contacts he was able to establish and the meetings he had with leaders of public opinion and other eminent persons. He met Mr. William Digby almost every day, and his friendship and company were of practical help to the delegates in their work, but Narayanrao found in him a person who possessed a mind which was profoundly religious in its attitude and pursuits. On the 15th of October, Narayanrao and his colleagues went to the India Office to meet Lord Randolph Churchill who was at the time Secretary of State for India. Lord Randolph received them cordially and his manners and expression made a deep impression on their minds. Narayanrao felt that Lord Randolph's speech was a sweet and smooth flow of words and, as he spoke, he held his listeners spell-bound. He advised the Indian delegates not to be too friendly with either the Liberals or the Conservatives. On behalf of himself and his colleagues, Narayanrao assured the Secretary of State for India that it was their desire as well not to identify themselves with one party or the other. It was, however, difficult for them to keep aloof, as among their friends and well-wishers there were many Liberals, and their leanings were found to be markedly, though not deliberately, towards Liberals. When Lord Randolph Churchill saw those leanings, he was angry, and on a later occasion, described the Indian delegates as their own representatives rather than of their people and as mere puppets in the hands of the leaders of "the Radical Party." The most remarkable person whom they met and had several opportunities to talk to was Mr. John Bright, the great Liberal leader. Mr. Gladstone was the soul of the Liberal Party and although he was approaching the age of eighty, he was unapproachable by any one else in the majesty with which he ruled over the hearts of the British people. But there was something in John Bright which even Glad-

stone could not equal. If Gladstone, by his towering personality and force of oratory, held in his grasp the emotions of the people of Britain, Bright was loved by them because of his humility, his burning desire to serve his people and his selfless devotion to the cause he made his own. Not only educated Britons, not only men, but even women and children loved him and flocked to the meetings at which he was to be present, if only to have a glimpse of him. At a meeting held in the Birmingham Town Hall on November 21, Narayanrao and his colleagues were present. The Hall was packed long before the hour of the meeting. Those who could not get seats, stood close to one another. An old man in ordinary dress arrived at seven o'clock. Without being told, Narayanrao at once knew who he was, because far above the simplicity of the man and his dress were a dignity and magnanimity which nothing but a sweet smile on the face revealed. In the audience were men and women, and school children who usually did not attend such meetings but had come only to see their beloved leader whom everyone regarded as a friend. Mr. Bright spoke in a mild voice and in simple words. There was not that excitement, that fervour which marked other election speeches. He had not a word to say about his opponent, Lord Randolph Churchill. It was a clean, simple, dignified, heart-to-heart talk to his friends. After he sat down, one person rose and asked: "Here's a man who made our bread cheap for us. Are you going to turn your back on him and support Lord Randolph?" A woman spontaneously cried, "Hear, hear!", and the audience which mostly consisted of workers and their wives and children realised that it was Mr. John Bright who had struggled hard to have the tax on bread reduced. They all joined the woman with one voice. After the chairman's speech which should ordinarily have brought the proceedings to a close, Mr. Bright rose again, to support the vote of thanks to the chairman, his real object being to say something about the Indian visitors whose presence at the meeting he had not noticed earlier. This speech was even more stirring than the first one. Steadily his voice rose and the audience forgot itself in the ecstasy it produced. They were roused from it when these words of the speaker fell on their ears: "I could almost hope that I was twenty

years younger and could give some help to those who are likely to take up this cause." Presumably he meant India's cause. His hope that he was twenty years younger and that for the sake of serving a good cause, stirred the hearts of all those present. They stood to a man—and threw up their hats and handkerchiefs in wild enthusiastic approbation. Mr. John Bright himself was overcome by the sentiments that had surged in his heart. When he sat down, his hand shook as he lifted the glass of water to his lips,—indeed, his whole frame was shaking in the excitement of his own emotion. After the meeting, he spoke to the Indian visitors whom he gave the assurance that he would do everything to fight for India's cause if he was elected. When the visitors told him that his success at the poll was a certainty, he remarked with a smile, "No, no, one can't be too sure about anything." The next day, the three Indian delegates met Mr. Bright and spent two glorious hours in his elevating company. He expressed his satisfaction at the great work accomplished by Lord Ripon as Viceroy and also of the sympathetic policy adopted by Lord Reay who was Governor of Bombay at the time. He expressed his faith in the great future of India and, before parting, he told his visitors, "If you are moderate and we are reasonable, no difficulty is ever likely to arise in the government of your country."

Dr. Spens Watson was a barrister but he spent the greater part of his time and energies in social and humanitarian work. When Narayanrao heard about Dr. Watson, he had a great desire to meet the kindly soul. The meeting was to him of lasting benefit. He carried with him memories of the gentleness and cheerfulness that dominated all the hard work and toil that Dr. Watson did—memories which gave him joy and comfort with the light of faith in the inherent goodness of man. Another person who made the same impression on Narayanrao's mind was the good lady who had something of the angel in her and whose life had become an offering on the altar of service—Florence Nightingale. The "lady with the lamp", who had won the victory of the heart, on the battlefields of Crimea, was now old and had become infirm. She was almost completely bed-ridden, but from her

sick and weary bed she wrote to newspapers and did what she could to keep the flame of service burning in the hearts of men and women. Narayanrao had the good fortune of seeing Miss Nightingale twice at her house. She asked him questions about India—not the India of the princes or of rich merchants, but the India of the toiling masses—about the Indian farmer and the Indian labourer. "Tell me," she said, "about their mode of living. What kind of dress do they wear? Can they read and write?" She listened with attention to the account which her Indian visitors gave her. She expressed her deep sympathy and her great concern for the well-being of India's millions who lived in the villages. The good old lady admitted that the English who ruled over India had a great responsibility in this respect. "We English people will not learn to take interest in India", she told Narayanrao, "unless you seriously press Indian questions on our attention." She felt very sad over the results of the General Election as many of those who had sympathetic interest in the Indian questions were defeated, but her faith was unconquerable. The parting message she gave to Narayanrao for his countrymen was "Work on and it will be all right." Coming as they did from the heart of one to whom work was worship, these words had a special significance for Narayanrao.

The visit of the three Indian delegates was given considerable publicity of both kinds. The Conservative papers did their worst to criticise and condemn the visitors on account of their so-called pro-Liberal inclinations. One of the Tory papers described them as "low-caste men" who had cast off the religious and social traditions of the East. The delegates had gone with the firm determination to keep clear of party politics; but they soon discovered that it was impossible for them to do so. For various reasons, and unwittingly, they found themselves on the side of the Liberal party. They could not help speaking in words of praise about Lord Ripon's wise administration, and Lord Ripon was a Liberal. The delegates pleaded for a reduction in the expenditure on the Army which Lord Randolph Churchill who was a Conservative wanted to be increased. Mr. John Bright won their admiring

gaze and respect for his human qualities, and he was a Liberal. It was also an indisputable fact that the Liberal statesmen were sympathetic towards Indian demands for reform and therefore the Indian visitors were easily drawn towards the Liberal leaders, and the Conservatives naturally could not view their movements without concern. Their hostile criticism, however, helped the Indian delegates to achieve their object, for it drew the attention of the British people to the visit of the Indian delegates in a more prominent way. The London Times refused to take notice of the visit, but there were other papers like the Manchester Guardian and the Echo which did all they could to support and give publicity to the task which brought the three Indians to England. The Evening Express described the Indian demands as very reasonable and reminded the Government of the necessity of taking timely action if the Indian situation was not to create the same difficulties as the Irish question had.

On December 7, a meeting was held with Mr. John Bright as Chairman. The Indian delegates made their farewell speeches and took leave of the British people and those English friends who had treated them so kindly during their stay of two and a half months. Narayanrao left the English shores on that day and arrived in Bombay on December 28—the day on which the Indian National Congress was born in Bombay.

The Pall Mall Gazette paid a tribute to the Indian delegates in an article which appeared on December 8. It described their work in the following words:

“A campaign which it is only the barest justice to say that the representatives of the native educated class have conducted amidst disgraceful insults and slanders, with a dignity and magnanimity which is itself one of the best testimonies to the justice of their appeal.”

So far as the elections went, the mission was a failure, for most of those who were regarded as India's friends were defeated. Their efforts, however, were not without achieve-

ment which was perceptible in the interest which the visitors roused about India and her people wherever they went. The meetings addressed by them were largely attended and their speeches were heard with attention and interest. They were able to win new friends for their country and to create sympathy and understanding for the aspirations of their countrymen. From the speeches they heard and from private talks, the British people were convinced that the Indian delegates presented to them bare facts without any exaggeration or without any prejudice. As Pherozechah Mehta observed, "If the delegates had not set the Thames on fire, they had certainly kindled a spark in the hearts of the British public which would blaze up into a flame in time to come, if Indian leaders persisted in their efforts and continued to send such missions year after year."** The spark did not burst into a flame for many years to come. The average Englishman continued to be indifferent and ignorant about the Indian people and their legitimate demands; for he was pleased with the thought that India was a British possession which considerably added to the glory of the British Empire and their international prestige. It was, however, enough for Narayanrao and his colleagues that, during their brief sojourn in England of less than three months, they were able to kindle the spark which was never extinguished and continued to glow in the hearts of the small section of the British public who always approached Indian questions with the warmth of sympathy and friendship.

Five weeks after Narayanrao returned to India, a letter was published in the *Indu Prakash* of which he was editor. The letter was addressed to Narayanrao himself and was written in Marathi. The signatories who were residents of the small village of Newase in the Ahmednagar district expressed their desire to have it published because, according to them, it had a public significance. They paid a humble and warm tribute to the great task Narayanrao and his colleagues had accomplished in a country and among a people whose

**Life of Sir Pherozechah Mehta by H. P. Mody, Vol. I, Page 174.

language, customs and political conditions were totally different from those of India. They expressed their unbounded admiration for the sagacity and tact they had displayed in the accomplishment of that task. Newase was a small place, they said, and they were strangers. Still they felt an urge to write to him on account of the affection and regard he had roused in their grateful hearts by his noble efforts for his country and theirs. The letter was signed by Trymbak V. Joshi, Ramchandra Dhondo Badwe, Narayan Bhikaji Deshpande, Dada Mahipat Deshmukh, Vinayak Jayaram, Balwant Daji Bhovate, Anandrao Mohite, Vasrao Dayarambhai, Kisan-das Babaji and Shamsuddin Khatib.

V

The Householder

(i)

As a householder, Narayanrao was as fortunate and happy as he was as a child and during his days at school and at college. He had a very successful professional career as a lawyer and was called upon to adorn the Bench of the High Court. In public life, he was able to make a name for himself. But far greater than the success at the Bar and the Bench, or the eminence he attained in public life, was the happiness he had at home. Dr. Bhandarkar once paid him a well-deserved compliment, not untinged with envy. They met on a summer evening in 1916. In the course of their conversation, they talked about family life. Dr. Bhandarkar was nearly eighty at the time, and had been a widower for over fifteen years. His wife had died in 1901 (August 5). He had also lost his eldest daughter, Shantabai Panandikar in 1905, and his eldest son, Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, in 1916. He could therefore realise with poignancy how fortunate his friend and disciple was, and he was thankful that Narayanrao had in full measure that happiness which had not been his. Dr. Bhandarkar told Narayanrao what a great boon it was that he should have as his life's partner and as mistress of his household a woman with the rare talents that distinguished Lakshmibai, Narayanrao's wife.

Ramkrishnarao Sirur and his younger brother, Narayanrao, who was in the service of P. Chrystal and Company at Kumta, were looking for a suitable young man as bridegroom for their youngest sister, Mathura, who was twelve years old. They did not have much trouble in finding out a suitable husband for her. Every morning, Mathura used to go to the house of Vithalrao Kaikini to fetch some butter-milk. Vithalrao's youngest daughter, Padmavatibai, who had a discerning eye, noticed the girl with bright little eyes and a brighter

face. In her opinion, this girl would be perfectly suitable as a bride for her nephew, Narayanrao. Padmavatibai's selection was approved of by others in the family, and in 1875, Narayanrao was married to Mathura, the youngest sister of Narayanrao Sirur. The new daughter-in-law was given the name 'Lakshmi'. Lakshmi is the goddess of wealth, and it was believed that the bride would bring plenty and prosperity to her husband and his family. And so she did. In the following year, Narayanrao passed the B. A. examination in the first class and from this success he went on to greater success. During the next few years, he took to public life and to the profession of a lawyer. This was the period during which Lakshmibai had her training from her mother-in-law, Parvatibai, in the management of a large household. It was an ever-widening family circle with brothers, cousins and nephews, all residing under the fostering care of Narayanrao's mother. To such a large sphere of household responsibility, Narayanrao's young bride was not new. Her brother's house had also provided a home to a large number of relatives. Within a few years, she relieved her mother-in-law of the responsibilities and worries of the household.

Lakshmibai came to Bombay for the first time in 1881. It was the year in which Narayanrao had started his career as a member of the legal profession. During the same year, he had a visit from an old Hindu gentleman who was probably a stranger to him. The visit was altogether unexpected and proved to be also an unforgettable one. The old gentleman visited Narayanrao with a purpose. "My dear boy", he said to Narayanrao, "I am an old man and may die any moment. I feel interested in you and have come to congratulate you on your success at the law examination. But better than my congratulations is my advice. Beware of a voluptuous life. Lead a homely one. In the prime of life, I led the life of a night-wanderer. When I returned home late, I found my wife waiting for me with a lamp flickering by her side and with tears in her eyes. As she heard the sound of my foot-steps outside, she quietly opened the door and took me in—she had been watching and waiting for this brute of her husband, with tears running down her cheeks.

Her silence kept me silent. It brought remorse, but for a moment only. Here I am: And now I see how unworthy I have been of that noble, patient, suffering soul of a woman, my wife. She has taught me by her sufferings the lesson of life. Learn from me and live."

The old man meant well but could not have felt that his young friend needed any advice of this kind. He obviously did not know the young editor of the *Indu Prakash* whose upright character was reflected in its English columns. Narayanrao joined the Prarthana Samaj during the same year (1881), and referring to his joining the Samaj, Dr. Bhandarkar said in 1913:

"The education which Sir Narayan had received at College made him feel the presence of God everywhere and it was that feeling that made him join the Prarthana Samaj."

When Lakshmibai came to Bombay for the first time in 1881, the Chandavarkars were living in a house in Girgaum. It was a large household. It was no easy task to run it and look after the comforts of all its members, but it was certainly not more difficult for Lakshmibai than the delicate task of learning to know her husband's excitable temper which burst out with just a little provocation or, at times, with no provocation at all. The Hindu wife on the threshold of her married life is too timid to manifest her personality and qualities except the qualities of meek obedience and patient labour. It is, indeed, a hard school, in which the Hindu woman learns her first lesson in life, but to most of them it proves to be the background for the full development of those fine characteristics that have given the wife and the mother the first place in the family and in its life. It was so for Lakshmibai. Her husband used to get angry, and chide her. She kept quiet. It was not for a Hindu wife (गृहिणी) to turn round and protest. As the sage Kanva told his foster-daughter, Shakuntala, when she was about to depart for her husband's house:

"Do not turn round and protest even if your husband chides you and is harsh to you."**

Little by little, Lakshmibai grew in mental and spiritual stature and, in the course of years, was able not only to rule over the household but exercise a quiet influence over her husband as well. More and more effectively, and yet with grace and tenderness, she began "to warn, to comfort and command" Narayanrao who needed all the affection, sympathy, comfort and strength she gave him.

Before Lakshmibai came to Bombay, their first child had been born and was short-lived. The first major change came over Narayanrao's and Lakshmibai's married life in Bombay in 1883 with the arrival of their daughter, Sundari. During the next six years, the family had the addition of two new members—both sons, Vithal and Prabhakar, who were born in 1887 and in 1889 respectively. These three children grew in the midst of many relatives and in the company of several cousins.

Life for Narayanrao and his wife with their children was never the same. There were new arrivals of cousins, and more came to Bombay for education from Karwar or from Hubli. Young students from families like the Ubhayakars, Sirurs and Ugrankars continued to come and filled the large house in Morarji Gokuldas' Chawl. There were other families too residing in the Chawl which presented the appearance of a happy little colony. When the dreaded Plague began its annual visitations to Bombay in 1886, the residents of this colony had to move away from the monotonous life of the city and go to the country-side for two or three months at times. The Chandavarkars purchased a property and built a house at Borivli. It was encircled by a mango grove. Borivli became the summer resort for many families for many years—each year during the plague season. Around the main bungalow in the shade of the mango trees, would arise a number of temporary huts. To many who had the

* * भर्तृर्विप्रकृतापि रोषणतया मा स्म प्रतीपं गमः ।

good fortune of spending those happy days there year after year, the memories of Borivli come back like those of a sweet dream.

Narayanrao attached great importance to the home as being "the cementing bond of the society and the state", and to the woman whom he called "the presiding genius of the house." One is reminded of a rather cold and, perhaps, an unjust remark of Dr. Pierre Curie, husband of the celebrated scientist, Marie Curie, and himself a scientist who devoted his whole life to scientific research. He once wrote in his diary these words:

"Woman loves life for the living of it far more than we do; women of genius are rare."

He wrote this before he met the woman he married. Marie Curie, was certainly a genius of the type Pierre Curie must have had in mind when he wrote the words. Narayanrao's idea of a genius was much wider and was not confined to those who make a name for themselves and thus leave a mark on history. In his beautiful discourse on "Woman Soul", which he gave before the Bombay Branch of the National Indian Association on March 24, 1911, he said:

"The woman soul is the soul of patient suffering, quiet endurance, of submission and selflessness."

He declared that "A pure home, a good home, a great home means a pure society, a great society; a pure state and a great state." The purity and the greatness of the state, in his opinion, depended not on rare women like Marie Curie whom alone Pierre Curie would have admitted to the rare fraternity of geniuses, but on the woman in every home who, as its presiding genius, makes it good, pure and great. For this wonderful truth, Narayanrao gave illustrations not only from great teachers and founders of religion but those of women one meets in our everyday life. He quoted the instances of Blake, the artist and poet, Green the historian, Austin the jurist and several others to show that it was the

wife, the woman, whose inspiring love, patience and strength, meekness and courage, influenced these men and enabled them to accomplish in their lives what they did. Such a genius he found in his own home—in his wife.

VI

Pleader and Judge

Four years after he took the degree of B. A., in November 1880, Narayanrao passed the examination for the degree of LL.B. which he actually took in 1881. Those who passed the examination with him included Mr. Daji Abaji Khare who had a distinguished career as a pleader. The legal profession came to Narayanrao more or less as a legacy from his father who was a pleader in the little town of Sirsi in the North Kanara district. His maternal uncle, Shamrav, also was a renowned pleader in Bombay and Sheshgirirao, Shamrav's younger brother, shone at the head of the legal profession in Karwar.

The qualities which distinguished Narayanrao's advocacy of the cause of reform stood him in good stead in the legal profession. He undertook nothing which he did not master or to which he could not devote sufficient energy and attention. A patient and thorough study of law was the first essential for a successful career as a lawyer but, according to Narayanrao, it was not enough. As he told the students of the Law School in 1907, "There are, indeed, instances of men who have won success in the lawyer's profession without a sound general culture or liberal education, but these are exceptions, not the rule. This culture is of great value to the lawyer, whether he is practising at the Bar or presiding at the Bench; and it may be laid down as a sound maxim illustrated by general experience that no one can be an efficient lawyer whose light is derived from Law and Law alone."

When Narayanrao started his career as a lawyer in 1881, he had been editor of the 'Indu Prakash' for three years. These three years of journalism had brought his mind in intimate touch with the public movements and important public questions of the day. Making an earnest study of

these, as he did, in order to be able to write for his paper, Narayanrao must have acquired thereby the liberal education and general culture to which he referred in his speech at the Law School. It is not absolutely necessary for a lawyer to have a gifted tongue, but that gift adds to the competence of a lawyer as it did in Narayanrao's case. More than the gift of oratory, it is the quality of sweet persuasion that helps a person to achieve success at the Bar. His manner of speaking, his voice, the words he chooses and employs, even the minutest movement of the hands or the faintest smile that adorns the face,—all these factors contribute to a successful career. Of persuasiveness, Narayanrao had in abundance. His stately figure commanded respect, and if anything was lacking at all, it was made up by the brightness of the face and eyes and the dignity of his voice.

All these qualities helped him soon to establish himself as a flourishing lawyer, and after the disappearance, due to death, from the Bar of the Bombay High Court of veterans like Mr. Shantaram Narayan and Mr. Mahadev Chimnaji Apte, Narayanrao got more work than most others. Appeal cases he had in plenty, and he often had to go to the mofussil to appear in cases of large variety. When he was appointed Judge of the High Court in January 1901, he was in the front rank of the profession.

Success and prosperity came to Narayanrao easily, but he made no particular effort to attain them except devoting labour and patient industry for their own sake. He could not think of taking up a case only from considerations of profit if he felt it had no chance of success in the Court of Law. Once he was approached by a person who wanted him to appear for him in the Poona District Court in an appeal. On a careful study of the papers, Narayanrao thought that the chances of success of an appeal were slender and so he advised the person not to proceed. But the man insisted; not only was he anxious that the appeal must be filed; he was equally bent on having Narayanrao and none else. Narayanrao's refusal had no effect. So he took up the case and his client won it!

For a rising pleader, there is not only the temptation but the easy prospect of getting a rich fee. Narayanrao never bothered about this side of his work. He had his own rates fixed and the bills were prepared strictly according to these rates by his clerk. Grateful memories are recorded of cases which he took up but for which he did not charge any fees because he knew the client concerned was not in a position to pay any. He won a certain case in a District Court, and the opposite party went in appeal to the High Court. His client at this stage was induced to engage another pleader at the High Court, but he found out his mistake before it was too late. Narayanrao was aware of what was taking place. He kept quiet. In a penitent mood and full of regrets and apologies, the client returned to Narayanrao, and on bended knees, begged of him to take up his case. Narayanrao cared more for the man's genuine repentance than for his indiscretion. He instantly agreed and argued the appeal successfully. Government often engaged him to conduct their cases as in connection with the Yeola riots in 1882. There were many occasions on which he and his uncle, Mr. Shamrav Vithal, appeared on opposite sides. One of the most interesting episodes of his career as a lawyer—indeed, an episode the memories of which the residents of Karwar cherished for a long time—was what was known as the Forest Department case in which an employee of the Department was charged with misappropriation of funds. It came up before the Sessions Court in Karwar in September 1888. Shamrav Vithal was engaged to defend the accused. Government selected Narayanrao to conduct the prosecution. The presiding judge was Mr. Harvey, an Englishman (of whom Narayanrao wrote in his diary: "I was struck by Mr. Harvey's intelligence and quickness of perception and searching way of examination."). Mr. Vaman Mangesh Dubhashi, a respected citizen of Karwar, was among the assessors. He remembered the case long after it was over and narrated it in the following words:

"The whole town gathered at the District Court to witness this historic contest between the Uncle and Nephew. I had the good fortune of witnessing the case and hearing

the proceedings as one of the assessors. It went on for four or five days. On the day before the last, Mr. Shamrav Vithal addressed the Court on behalf of the accused for about four hours. It was a fine address. It went on till about 6 o'clock in the evening and the Court rose for the day adjourning the proceedings till the next day which was a Saturday. The school children were given a holiday so that they could go and witness the Court proceedings of the last day which were expected to commence with the address of the Government Counsel, N. G. Chandavarkar. His speech was hailed as a masterpiece. For an hour and a half, the large numbers who were present forgot themselves in the ecstasy produced by the address. So forceful was it and so full of unassailable arguments, that the verdict became evident even before it was pronounced by the Judge."

Formidable as has been the task of giving a brief estimate of Narayanrao's splendid career as a lawyer, it is more formidable still to unfold that chapter of his crowded life which deals with his work as a judge of the High Court. In attempting this, one would have liked to have two advantages—the background of legal knowledge and experience and, far greater still, the privilege of having seen at least something of that august personality as he adorned the Bench of the High Court of Bombay for about twelve years. For the purposes of this little book, it is considered sufficient to have a few glimpses into Narayanrao's career as a Judge to serve the purpose of showing how the different events and episodes of his life moulded the man's character and how, in its turn, the determined and invincible structure of that character remained unaffected by, and even to a certain extent governed, the events.

The closing months of the year 1900 brought increasing physical pain to Mr. Ranade and aggravated his illness. Since 1893, he was on the Bench of the High Court. His doctors prevailed upon him to take leave. At the time, Narayanrao's selection for the presidency of the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress was already announced. Narayanrao accepted the invitation both as a signal honour and as

the call of his country to a task of unparalleled national importance. After he had accepted it, the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, conveyed to him Government's desire to appoint him in the temporary vacancy on the Bench created by Mr. Justice Ranade's proceeding on leave. Narayanrao was not quite prepared for the news and was all the more surprised because the offer had come after it had become known that he was to preside over the annual session of the Congress. He told the Chief Justice and also the Governor, Lord Northcote, that he had already accepted the presidency of the Congress and that there was no going back upon that acceptance. Lord Northcote told him to go ahead. Before Narayanrao left for Lahore, the Governor invited him to dinner at the Government House and wished him god-speed.

It made the man humble to be so exalted both in the eyes of his countrymen and in the estimation of Government at the same time. Of the Government's offer he said:

"It is a great honour, but also a great responsibility, and is rendered all the more onerous by the fact that I succeed one whose mental and moral attainments invest the place with something of special sanctity."*

When he received intimation from Government that he had been selected for the office, his heart was filled with mixed feelings—of thankfulness, of awe and also of diffidence and nervousness. He felt so humble that 'his praying heart did go up to God'. His acceptance of the office was considered as a loss to the national cause.

Sir Homi Mody in his 'Political Biography' of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta wrote:

"Ultimately, Telang was appointed, and a brilliant and capable leader was lost to the national cause. Not for the first time, however, were the thin ranks of our public men

*From a letter to Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao.

reduced by desertion, nor for the last. One after another, Tyabji, Ranade and Chandavarkar mounted the Bench, and disappeared from active public life."

The statement is not quite correct. That Narayanrao could not thenceforward take an active part in political activities was true, but his work with the National Social Conference, for the Prarthana Samaj of which he became President in succession to Mr. Justice Ranade, for the University of Bombay of which he was a Fellow since 1887 and, later, Vice-Chancellor for more than three years, kept him in public life and, indeed, increased in volume and in the scope of its usefulness.

After Justice Nanabhai Haridas, Narayanrao was the first practising pleader on the Appellate Side to be appointed Judge of the High Court. To this exalted position, he brought his deep and vast knowledge of law, his almost super-human capacity to labour, and his upright character. In the Law Examination, he had won the prize for securing the highest number of marks in Hindu Law. Even while he practised at the Bar, he had realised the importance of a thorough knowledge of the Hindu Law in the administration of justice. Shortly after he was raised to the Bench, he commenced a study of the original Sanskrit texts of the Hindu Law like the Mitakshara and the Mayukha with the help of a learned shastri. He soon mastered the texts, and pleaders realised that it was necessary for them to acquire a sound knowledge of the Hindu Law before they could argue in his Court. He made a rich contribution to the task of giving a liberal interpretation of the Hindu Law Texts which was begun by Sir Michael Westropp and Sir Raymond West and was carried on by Mr. Justice Telang and Sir Lawrence Jenkins. In many an important case, Narayanrao gave far-reaching decisions which were based on the original texts of the Hindu Law.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice, was not slow in recognising the outstanding merit and high calibre of Mr. Justice Chandavarkar. According to the convention, which

was established by long usage and had acquired the prestige of a rule, a judge who was a pleader before his appointment was not allowed to try sessions cases or to sit on the Original Side of the High Court. So great was the Chief Justice's appreciation of Narayanrao's work that he broke the convention and asked him to preside at the Criminal Sessions and also to sit on the Original Side. This was done in August 1903 and it was originally meant to be a temporary arrangement till October. The Chief Justice, however, found that Narayanrao's work on the Original Side was highly appreciated by members of the Bar and was himself pleased to ask Narayanrao to continue on the Original Side for some-time longer. Narayanrao wrote to his friend, Vasudevrao G. Bhandarkar:

"Next Monday the Court reopens and I am to be on the Original Side. When I was sent over there last August, the Chief Justice said it would be for a few months—till Xmas at the most; but on the reopening of the Court after October vacation he told me as the Bar 'was greatly satisfied' with me, he intended to continue me there sometime longer. I met the Chief Justice yesterday and again he said, 'You will be gratified to hear that there is a great satisfaction with your work on the Original Side. They are very highly impressed with it.....I am sorry to part with you from the Appellate Side but I am afraid they all want you on the Original Side and I must continue you there.'"

Narayanrao himself liked the work on the Original Side better although it was more strenuous than on the Appellate Side. At that time the Judge had not the assistance of a stenographer but had to take down the depositions of the witnesses himself. This made the work tedious but he found it very stimulating. As he said:

".....the work is so stimulating for one thing and for another gives one a chance of proving what there is in him, if there is anything in him."

He gave of his best for the satisfactory performance of his duties as a judge, whether on the Appellate Side or on

the Original Side. He found the work on the Original Side so stimulating probably because it called for the employment of all his energies, all his labour and of his faith. He wrote to a friend:

"The ideas in connection with the points raised come and trouble at night and sometimes sleeplessness is the result."

On the 22nd of January 1906, there was a motion before him for the appointment of a receiver in a pending suit. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Strangman, a Barrister in the front rank, appeared on one side and Mr. Inverarity, another leading Barrister, appeared on the other. It was, as Narayanrao thought, rather a difficult question. He, therefore, reserved the judgment till the next day. He had heard arguments on which he could not make up his mind. They haunted him as he walked home. They did not leave him at night. He wrote in his diary:

"At night I tried to think and make up my mind but I could not see my way clear. I gave up thinking over the point."

Before going to bed he prayed, and in the prayer sought God's help towards the decision. He slept very well, no more troubled by the thoughts of the case. In the morning, he prayed again for light. When, after his bath, he sat with the papers to think and decide, the way he should decide seemed to stand before him as if it had come of itself without any effort on his part. He wrote it out and delivered his judgment. This was one of the numerous occasions on which he realised the value of prayer and how silent communion with God gives strength to the faltering mind and light to the mind's eye.

On Monday, November 21, 1910, the Governor of Bombay held a Levee at the Government House at 4-30 p. m. The Court met from 11-30 a. m. to 2-30 p. m. At 3 p. m. Narayanrao had his walk and then went to the Government

House for the Levee. The following account is taken from his diary:

"The Puisne Judges were dislodged from the position they had taken up according to old established usage on the right of the Governor. I told my colleagues that was an insult to us and informed them of a similar treatment accorded to them in Sir J. Fergusson's time—how then the Chief Justice resented the action of the Governor of the time and the Judges declined to attend the Levee and all functions at Government House unless they were assured that they would be restored to their right at the Levee. My colleagues and I left the Levee Hall at once. I went to the Royal Asiatic Society's Library and got the 'Times of India' of November, 20, 1883 which contained the correspondence between the Chief Justice of that time and Sir J. Fergusson."

On Tuesday, November 22, 1910:

"The Chief Justice and the Judges met to consider the treatment of the Judges at yesterday's Levee and sent a protest to the Governor."

What is more remarkable about this incident than the anxiety of the Judges to have their prestige and position unimpaired is Narayanrao's capacity to remember past incidents with minute details and his respect for precedents whenever they were available and relevant.

A year before he retired from the Bench of the High Court, the Golden Jubilee of that august body was celebrated. The Bombay High Court was established in 1862. The Chief Justice, Sir Basil Scott, decided to mark the completion of fifty years on August 14, 1912. The highlights of the celebrations included a dinner the Chief Justice gave to his colleagues and members of the Bar on the Original Side, and a conversazione of pleaders and solicitors. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, however, had a different notion of the occasion. His mind clung to the belief in the continuity of events and loved to look back on the past, sometimes for comfort

and at other times for light and guidance. He felt that the most befitting way of marking the completion of the fifty years in the history of the High Court would be to prepare a narrative of its accomplishments in the realm of the administration of justice and to give the people an idea of the part it had played in shaping the life of the society through the various judgments, verdicts and decisions, many of which had a profound effect upon social customs and practices and, by effecting a lasting change in them, also changed the social structure and the course of social events. Such were the decisions the High Court gave in cases like the Karsondas Case which was also known as the Maharaja Libel Case. Narayanrao bestowed considerable effort and labour on a detailed historical study of the High Court's career of fifty years. The finished product of this study was his article which appeared on August 14 in the 'Times of India'. The article contained interesting and vivid pen-pictures of the past Chief Justices and puisne Judges, and also a highly instructive account of how presiding authorities like Sir Michael Westropp (Chief Justice from 1870 to 1882) and Mr. Justice Raymond West (Judge from 1871 to 1887) did pioneering work in reshaping the application and administration of the Hindu Law.

One of the memorable cases which came before Mr. Justice Chandavarkar was the famous Tai Maharaj Case in which there was a dispute about the validity of the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj Pandit by Tai Maharaj, a young widow of about 20. The Sub-Judge of Poona who tried the suit decided that the adoption was valid. This decision was challenged by filing an appeal before the High Court where the appeal came for hearing before Mr. Justice Heaton and Mr. Justice Chandavarkar. The two judges delivered separate judgments. While, according to Justice Heaton, no adoption took place at all, Justice Chandavarkar held that the adoption was not valid. An appeal against the decision of the Bombay High Court was made to the Privy Council. Presided over by Lord Shaw, the Privy Council reversed the decision of the Bombay Judges and upheld that of the Poona Sub-Judge. The Tai Maharaj Case roused great interest in

its own time and, unfortunately, became a subject of bitter controversy. It is now forty years since the Privy Council Judgment was delivered. It is, therefore, neither proper nor desirable to write anything on the matter which has been discussed at length by Mr. D. G. Vaidya, writer of the Marathi biography of N. G. Chandavarkar.

Mr. Vaidya has shown how the judges of the Privy Council wrongly attributed to Justice Chandavarkar the following remark which is actually found in the judgment delivered by Justice Heaton:

“We are driven to believe that a considerable number of men of good position have conspired together to give false evidence.”

These remarks were supposed to have been directed against Mr. (Lokamanya) Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mr. Khaparde who were the advisers of Tai Maharaj. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in his biography of Lokamanya Tilak, has made use of these words to show that Justice Chandavarkar made this remark (which was from Justice Heaton's judgment) out of malice and personal antagonism. Mr. Vaidya who took the very ground off Mr. Kelkar's allegations, by showing in his detailed narrative of the Tai Maharaj Case, that the remarks were not Justice Chandavarkar's has achieved a great thing in removing from Narayanrao's character the blemish which Mr. Kelkar has apparently been at considerable pains to attribute to it on totally incorrect data.

VII

The Reformer's Faith

Those who did not support or sympathise with the reform movements that had been organised by men who had seen the light, had many formidable arguments to put forward. Hindu society, they said, was a very unwieldy structure. There were numerous castes and sub-castes. It was, therefore, a hopeless task to expect the Hindu society to assimilate the spirit of reform. Champions of reform met this argument effectively. In one of his addresses, Narayanrao said:

"Though it (the Hindu society) is divided into castes and sub-sections of caste, innumerable with peculiarities of custom and tradition distinguishing them from one another, yet it ought not to be forgotten that all these castes and sub-sections rest on a common foundation; they have a sort of inter-dependence and exert mutual influence on one another. The customs and institutions with which the social reformer proposes to deal are common to the higher classes of the Hindu society from whom the lower classes take their standard."**

The reformer's approach to the social problems of those days was human and therefore it never occurred to him that in taking up the cause of reform, he was seeking the betterment of one particular community or sub-section of the society. He generally assailed the foundation, which was common to all communities, of the belief, practices and institutions which were worn out and out of usage. Prominent among the social problems he dealt with were the education of women and the raising of their status, the remarriage of widows and the raising of the age of marriage for girls, the uplift of the so-called depressed classes and the breaking of artificial barriers of caste. These were not peculiar to any

**Speeches and writings: Page 54.

particular caste or section of the society. They were found in the whole Hindu society, and therefore the reformer hardly ever thought except in terms of the society as a whole. He sought to attack the evil notions and practices wherever he found them—and he found them everywhere.

The reformer's task was by no means new. Saints and sages in all ages had attempted the same task. Referring to this great fact of Indian history, Narayanrao pointed out that,

"The whole history of the Hindu society has been a history of tumultuous departure, wherever the departure was rendered necessary or expedient, from the laws laid down in the Shastras."**

There was a wave of revivalism during the eighties of the last century, and it was passing over the whole country. It indicated a desire for the return of orthodox beliefs and practices. Some workers in the reformers' camp took alarm at the appearance of this wave, but Narayanrao was not one of them. He gave his comrades courage and cheered them up by telling them that this revivalism was

"just one of those things we should expect in the case of people situated as we Hindus just now are."†

In the case of any reform there are bound to be steps backward as well as steps forward, and this was in accordance with the Law of Progress. A worker who knows his task is not daunted by the rolling backward of the wave of reform. He does not unduly pry into the future.

"It is enough for us to answer for the present and to work in the present in the spirit of faith and hope, remembering that the future rarely fails when those who work for a good cause are animated by that spirit."‡

Shortly after Mr. Telang made his speech in which he

**Speeches and writings: Page 65.
 † " " " : Page 60.
 ‡ " " " : Page 52.

used the expression about "reform running along the line of least resistance", Narayanrao, in the course of a discussion, asked Mr. Telang if he did not believe in the individual force of great reformers and the force of individual example as a factor of social or any other reform. Mr. Telang expressed his full belief in these two great facts.

"In fact, the whole history of reform has been the history of men who moved ahead of their society."§ There were those who sounded a note of caution against moving ahead of the society and advised the reformer to move with the times. Narayanrao believed that that was not the correct attitude. Growth which is an essential feature of life cannot take place by sudden jumps and starts. It has to be and indeed is always gradual. When it is sudden, there is always a set-back. This is true also of reform, but a reformer cannot forget the fact that while growth may take place by itself, reform needs a driving force which the individual who has felt the urge for the reform has to provide. Necessarily, therefore, the reformer has to be ahead of the other members of the society, else he cannot provide the driving force. Narayanrao warned those who took the complacent view of "moving with the times" that the phrase was meaningless. He told them:

"Time is no agent! it is men and not time that are the moving springs of society. Society has naturally a tendency to cast its members in the iron mould of custom and superstition, and it is only those who are educated who can give the propelling force. To move with it is to move in the old ways; it is only by moving ahead of it and showing it the way onwards that you can get it to move on."**

Another device employed by the reactionaries was the appeal to the link with the past. They asked the reformers not to adopt a line of action which will lead the people away from the past. Narayanrao revered the past, and took every lesson that the teachings of the sages and thinkers of the

§ Speeches and Writings: Page 68.

**Speeches and writings: Page 69.

past offered through the pages of history. But he had no sympathy for those who preferred to cling to old beliefs and practices only because they were old. He protested against their blind allegiance to the past. He met the advocates of this policy in their own words by telling them that

"Human nature is so full and fond of the past, at least in India, so inert and supine, that there is no danger of any reformer running headlong and revolutionising society."

He went on to say:

"The past is too strong in the present, and it has tremendous energy to take care of itself; what is wanted is force to mould it and that can come from reform within."

In 1886, Mr. B. M. Malabari started his agitation for legislative interference with the practices of infant marriage and enforced widow-hood. He circulated his views by publishing his "Notes" on the question in which he appealed to Government to take steps to check these practices. Malabari's Notes were followed by certain interesting developments. A monster meeting was held at Madhav Baug and was attended by several thousands of Hindus of all castes and creeds to protest against the legislation proposed by Mr. Malabari. The leader of this movement was Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik. Professor Wordsworth of the Elphinstone College published a pamphlet in which he criticised Mr. Malabari and advised him "to make no noise." By doing so he created joy in the camp of those who opposed the reforms which Malabari and his friends sought to bring about. In the same year Mr. Telang had tried to show that reform had a tendency to run along the line of least resistance. Both Wordsworth and Telang came to be regarded by the opponents of reform as their "idols." Before long, however, Professor Wordsworth gave them a rude shock by becoming President of the Committee which was formed to support the cause of Rakhmabai. He was followed by Telang who also joined the Committee. Wordsworth sent for Narayanrao and expressed to him his regret for having published the pamphlet which, as it happened, had created so much confusion and mis-

understanding. It was in the course of this controversy that Rao Saheb Mandlik and his followers gave currency to the phrase "reform from within" as distinguished from "reform from without" which, they said, Mr. Malabari and his friends were seeking to force on the community. By giving currency to the phrase and using it against the "so-called reformers", Rao Saheb Mandlik gradually assimilated its spirit and, setting aside his old orthodox beliefs, he came forward to set an example to others by undertaking the task of inducing the Shastris to throw the weight of their influence on the side of reform by readmitting into the caste a young educated Brahmin who had returned from England. Narayanrao who was struck by Rao Saheb Mandlik's sincerity borrowed from him the phrase "Reform from within" and gave it a fresh meaning. The phrase, according to him, meant reform backed by conviction and action and not merely talking and writing about it.

A reformer's faith does not allow him to be despondent and down-hearted. In the midst of darkness he can yet see a gleam of light coming from a distance, faint and almost imperceptible at first, but gradually becoming more distinct. Although there is opposition which is born of an inherent tendency to cling to the old and the past, it cannot destroy hope and the fear of persecution and pain is often exaggerated. Narayanrao had correctly felt the pulse of the Hindu society and he also knew exactly the reformer's role and his task.

"The Hindu is caste-bound and custom-bound, but he is mild and his bigotry is mild also. He persecutes when you protest against his social evils and he excommunicates you when you act contrary to custom. But his persecution is not painful after all. He comes up slowly when he finds you are daring and determined and you are actuated by good motives and a good cause. We fear social ostracism a little too much as children fear to go into the dark. One does not dare because he has a wife and children; another because he has a daughter to marry; a third because he has—well any difficulty will do when the mind is slow and the heart is weak.

I do not wish to laugh at these difficulties. Only let us remember that difficulties have to be faced in some shape or another if we want progress and reform. And the saviours of society are those who, instead of fencing with social problems or taking shelter in plausible phrases, nerve themselves to action and set an example of daring deeds. It is by such that societies are renovated."**

It is easy to talk of reform and advocate it; it is easy even to take up a particular item of reform like the remarriage of widows and actually bring about a few remarriages or, like the promoters of the Paramahansa Sabha, to advocate the removal of caste distinctions by eating a piece of bread given by a Christian or drinking water from a glass brought by a Muslim. At their best, these reforms are superficial and do not necessarily indicate a change of heart. Unless our very attitude towards a particular custom or practice undergoes a radical change the reform cannot be lasting. What is needed is, as Narayanrao said at the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference held in 1904 in Madras,

"the reform of the heart and the mind which can only come from the intelligent consciousness that a healthy society is that the units of which are taught that everyone of them is a responsible being, that everyone of them is and ought to be a hopeful being, that everyone of them has rights with its attendant responsibilities, and that the neglect or suffering of any unit must tell on the whole."‡

The society must respect the rights and the status of each individual member who, in his turn, must realise his responsibility for the well-being of the society and for social progress. Narayanrao summed up the ideal the reformer cherishes by quoting the following words of Ranade:

"In place of isolation we must have fraternity, or rather elastic expansiveness. The new mould of thought must be cast in fraternity or all-attractive expansiveness and cohesion in society."

**Speeches and Writings: Pages 88-89.

‡ " " " : Page 130.

VIII

The Reformer

When the Indian National Congress was founded in Bombay in 1885, it was meant to be a national movement, but without a clear-cut programme of work or a clear idea of what the national movement was going to be. The leaders who met together for the great event felt that the movement should not be exclusively political, and that matters relating to the country's social economy should receive the same attention as its political problems. Among those who attended the first meeting of the Congress were persons who had already distinguished themselves as champions and earnest workers in the cause of social reform. These were, Mr. Ranade and Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Mr. B. M. Malabari and Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar. At the second session of the Congress held in Calcutta in 1886, Narayanrao had confessed that political reform came next in importance in his estimation to religious and social reform. Raghunath Rao, Bhandarkar, Agarkar and Malabari were not known to have taken a prominent part in political work. Mr. Ranade was a Government servant and therefore was not expected to take part in the political work—at any rate, actively. It is therefore not difficult to infer that these leaders supported the case for social reform. However, after careful thought, it was agreed that the Congress should not deal directly with social questions. R. Raghunath Rao and Ranade delivered addresses before the meeting on social reform. Ultimately, a separate movement was agreed upon and it came to be known as the Indian National Social Conference. The Conference, though separated from the Congress, was closely related to it. For several years its sessions were held in the Congress mandap and immediately after the Congress meeting. The inter-dependence of these two bodies and, in fact, of the two great causes was eloquently and in a comprehensive way defined by Ranade:

"You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights; nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economical system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideals are low and grovelling you cannot succeed in social, economical or political spheres. The inter-dependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature."**

The National Social Conference was founded in 1885, but during the first few years nothing beyond delivering and hearing a few addresses was done. In 1887, the first regular session of the Conference was held in Madras and during the next two years, Ranade and his colleagues made sustained and strenuous efforts to organise the Conference on a sound basis. It was in 1889 that the Conference started its career as an organisation. Under the able guidance of Ranade who spared no pains to make it a powerful and influential body, the Conference grew from strength to strength. Narayanrao, in his address to the Bombay Provincial Social Conference in 1901, described how this happened and what a great force the Conference became, in words which have vividness and gratitude about them:—

"The National Social Conference was conceived and created by him (Ranade) as a visible embodiment of the unity of social reform....It was the child of his love, the child of his soul; it was to its interests that he gave the best part of his time and thought; it was on its platform that he delivered those weighty and eloquent annual addresses, wise with the wisdom of the heart, powerful with the power of his great intellect, majestic with the majesty of his lofty and commanding personality. In the National Social Conference all castes, all races, all provinces, all causes, are to meet and mingle in friendly rivalry in the pursuit of the social and moral progress of their common father-land. It was a grand conception, worthy of the grandest Indian mind of the century with which it passed away."

**Address at the Provincial Social Conference held at Satara in May, 1900.

Narayanrao was speaking shortly after Ranade died. There was profound sadness in his voice and he was evidently overcome by the sense of the irreparable loss the country had sustained. But Ranade was too far-sighted not to think of the future of "the child of his love." In December 1900, Ranade was eagerly looking forward to the annual session of the Conference which was to be held at Lahore. He was ill at the time and his doctors would not allow him to go. As Naraynarao has stated, the Conference "occupied his thoughts on that bed of illness from which he never again walked into the world." The anguish of physical pain and torture could not prevent him from writing his address for the Conference. It was a learned paper on "Vasishtha and Vishwamitra" into which he had poured the very blood from his heart. For fifteen years there was no break in his attendance, and as he wrote the telegram to say that he was not coming, tears flowed from his eyes. The paper was handed over to Mr. Gokhale who, with Narayanrao, went to Lahore. When the Lahore meetings were over and the newspapers gave encouraging reports of the proceedings, Ranade was glad to read particularly the speeches which Gokhale and Chandavarkar had made. He found comfort in the thought that these two men were ready and able to carry on the work he had begun. He wrote to them both expressing his feelings of satisfaction. Narayanrao remembered that last letter with gratitude and it always gave him good cheer.

"The last letter he wrote to me was a touching and all too generous acknowledgment of the little that I was glad to do at his bidding in connection with its proceedings at Lahore."*

The mantle of the General Secretaryship of the Conference then fell from the grand and lofty shoulders of that giant on to the young and graceful shoulders of his worthy disciple—Chandavarkar. Narayanrao carried on the work of the Conference with great zeal and without for a moment allowing his thoughts to get away from the fact that it was a sacred trust. As General Secretary, he continued the

practice of delivering the inaugural address at each session. The addresses he delivered there were full of profound thought, and among these the one delivered at the Conference held at Benares in 1905 is almost a classic. He took for his text the Gayatri Prayer, dwelling on the lives and the ideals of the Rishis of old, and tried to pick out "the central idea round which the machinery of society was made to move by the Rishis." This is what revealed itself to his eye that looked for the supreme fact of the lives of our great forefathers:

"In the mass of the detailed performance of duties prescribed for the individual, one idea stands out most prominently, viz., that he was to pray, to yearn, and to seek for 'Light.' The 'Gayatri' which the individual was to utter with unerring regularity morning and evening, is no more and no less than the cry of the human soul for light. It is an appeal to God that His light may be shed on the mind of the individual to illuminate it."‡

The pursuit of Light was the aim of life adopted by Hinduism of ancient days, but Narayanrao saw in this aim a lesson for himself and his countrymen—

"a lesson to sink into our hearts and animate our lives—that we should always move with the times by means of the light of knowledge acquired, experience gained and events revealed—that we should ever move forwards, instead of standing still."

"Are we children of Light now?" he proceeded to ask. He was pained to see that "the central ideal of the people, the yearning for light which discovers a new age, new necessities, new aspirations, has been obscured by the ideal of blind usage and customs with the result that we have become seekers after the very darkness which we are taught by the Rishis to avoid." He reminded his audience of the fact that their ideals were the same as those which the Rishis kept before their eyes. In words which even to-day have not lost the freshness of their appeal, he told them,

‡ Speeches and writings Page 135.

"These are your ideals—'Children of light' that you were, sanctify yourselves as a people to the cause of the Social Conference because it draws its inspiration from the genuine Sanatan Dharma of the Rishis."**

Shortly after the Madhav Baug agitation (1886) over Mr. Malabari's efforts to have legislation to stop such social customs as infant marriage, Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik took up the task of obtaining the support of the shastris for the reform, as he looked upon the act, of re-admitting an England-returned gentleman into the caste after the performance of some penance.† The reaction of the shastris, the stronghold of orthodoxy, to this move was interesting and illustrated how the time spirit was working as a result of the efforts of men of enlightened views. One of them, Mahamahopadhyaya Bhimacharya Zalkikar, said to Narayanrao,

"We shastris know the tide is against us and it is no use opposing. You people should not consult us, but go your own way, and do the thing you think right and we shall not come in your way. But if you ask us and want us to twist the shastras to your purpose and go with you, we must speak plainly and we will oppose."‡

In other words, the shastris had recognised the weight of the reform movement which, they saw, was inevitable and probably, in their own hearts, some of them even sympathised with the movement. As Narayanrao pointed out, every custom marks the beginning of a departure from the traditional injunctions laid down by the shastras. The shastras themselves have sanctioned the making of new customs. The shastri, as well as the reformer, knew this, and therefore no opposition to any reform or new line of action or way of life which came from the orthodox could have abiding force. It was therefore more than possible that the shastris—the more sensible and thoughtful among them, at

**Speeches and writings, Page 141.

†See Ch. VII, P. 80.

‡Speeches and Writings, P. 35.

any rate—could not think seriously of opposing the reforms. On the other hand, they looked upon the shastras as a valuable means of showing that our history has been a history of change. Particularly in the case of men who had visited England, the opposition of the Gurus would have lost its force if people had been sensible enough to see how the society was changing with the driving force of events and circumstances which it could not control or repel. Educated men felt that the interests, hopes and aspirations of Indians were bound up with England and notwithstanding the opposition of the shastris and their supporters or even the threat of excommunication, educated Hindus with hopes, aspirations and ambitions, both individual and national, went to England in increasing numbers. As Narayanrao said, “it is idle to think or even dream of checking that tide as it was idle on the part of Mrs. Partington to stop the waters of the Atlantic by means of her broom.”

Narayanrao went to England in 1885 as a member of the three-man deputation to plead India's case before the English public. He returned to India in about four months. He was the first member of his community—the Saraswat Brahmins of Kanara—to have undertaken foreign travel. On his return there was some agitation among the members of the community, but it had little effect on his relations with or treatment by the members of his community. As he said in 1901,

“When I visited England sixteen years ago, of course there was an agitation about my doing so. But nothing was done and I was received by my caste and in my family. I was treated as if I had never violated any of the rules of the caste.”

For ten years nothing was done. During this period two young men from the same caste went to England. There was a great deal of agitation. The Swami, the spiritual head of the community, said that he would take no notice unless the community forced him to do so. There was a meeting of the Caste Sabha. Ultimately Narayanrao was excommuni-

cated. He and members of his family were cut off from the rest of the caste. The Swami, however, found that it was no easy task to give a ruling with reference to the various opinions which were expressed at the meeting of the Caste Sabha. His real fear probably was that whatever measure he may enforce, it would not be enough to stop young men of enterprise and ambition from going to England. He ordered that those who had associated with Narayanrao should be taken back into the caste after going through some ceremonies or penance.

The Swami was aggressive in his attitude but he had displayed greater understanding than his advisers. Narayanrao's own view of the institution of Gurus or Swamis was that it was "a holy and venerable institution which I have no doubt has done much good in the past." Because of their position and status in the communities of which they were religious heads, they were still capable of doing a great deal of good to their communities only if they adopted the more generous and correct view that, after all, it was man who made the shastras and he was not made for the shastras.

Among those who pronounced the sentence of ex-communication on "England-returned men" there were those who were in favour of giving them the choice—that they would be taken back into the caste if they performed penance or took the "Prayaschitta". Prayaschitta meant a penance for a sin. If men who returned from England agreed to take the Prayaschitta, it would amount to a confession that they had sinned in going to England. Narayanrao, who did not regard a trip to England as a sin at all, told them that Prayaschitta was of no use as "instead of leading to sincere penitence and preventing the commission, it only becomes a promoter and abettor of sin." One of his friends, Mr. K. Raghvendraraao, held before him the instances of two men whom he (Narayanrao) held in high esteem—Ranade and Telang. Telang had given his consent against his own wish to the infant marriage of his daughter. Ranade also had taken Prayaschitta against his own wish in 1890 in connection with the episode known as the "Panch Howd Tea-party."

Narayanrao's reply to his friend was:

"You cite the example of Justice Ranade and Justice Telang. Well, if your argument is sound, it follows we are to imitate even the weaknesses and lapses of great men!"

He was pained to see that the names of these two men had been mentioned in that context. For he felt that

"it is wronging his (Telang's) memory to say that his example in the matter of his want of moral courage should be imitated, for he himself had to confess his weakness and praise those who showed moral courage. He even wept for his weakness."

If Ranade had done a wrong thing in taking the Prayaschitta, it was because,

"The idea of displeasing anybody was too much for him, and he wanted to unite and work together.....He erred because his soul was gentle and his heart charitable."**

Boldly and fearlessly, Narayánrao made clear his own position as regards Prayaschitta and adhered to it. It was a bold and fearless attitude but it was altogether free from malice. He wrote to his uncle at Karwar:

"Earnest orthodox scruples deserve respect, though one who has no such scruples ought not to yield to them against his conscience; but in the present case there can be no such scruples and consequently the agitation must be treated with contempt."

This Prayaschitta episode took place in 1895. Narayanrao's daughter, Sundrabai, was twelve years old at the time. That was the marriageable age or at least the age which sets a girl's parents to start the campaign for a suitable husband for her. Sundrabai was married four years later. It is not difficult to imagine what anxious times her parents

**Speeches and writings: Page 350.

must have had to pass through. They probably had to choose between the two alternatives: taking the Prayaschitta in order to be able to find a suitable son-in-law on the one hand, and the acceptance of ex-communication (of Narayanrao and his family) without taking the Prayaschitta on the other. It was no ordinary fortitude both Narayanrao and Lakshmibai displayed in remaining firm against the powers of the caste people, the kindly importunities of friends and the difficulties in the way of getting their daughter married.

Narayanrao regarded Prayaschitta as a promoter and abettor of sin and as "a licence so to say for many a sin and many a flagrant departure from the path of virtue."

A friend went so far in his importunities as to warn Narayanrao that people who talk of adherence to principles do so out of vanity and a desire to display their own superiority over others. Narayanrao was too humble to retort and retaliate, but he told his friend,

"Vanity may be the motive, but it is not a corrupt motive. Rather it ceases even to be a weakness if it impels a man to follow a righteous course to lead the van of reform."

When the marriage of Narayanrao's daughter with Dattatraya, son of Narayanrao A. Sirur of Hubli, took place in 1899, the Swami pronounced his sentence of ex-communication once again, and this time the victims were all those who had taken part in the event i.e., the members of the bridegroom's family. Four years had apparently brought about a change, for some leaders of the caste sent a representation to the Swami beseeching him to reconsider the question of those who had visited England. The representation only prompted the Religious Head to issue a fresh bull. Both these orders had little effect on the community and, as stated by the *Indian Social Reformer*,

"In spite of the fulmination of this great Shankaracharya, inter-dining between the sinners and the saved goes on, we

understand, to an extent which causes very little inconvenience to the former, especially in the larger towns."

The advocates of reform looked upon caste as "the greatest monster we have to kill."** They were grieved to find that any effort to do away with caste distinction only resulted in the formation of new castes. But they kept the end steadily in view and persevered in their efforts. One of these efforts was inter-dining. Change was gradually coming over the thoughts and actions of the people, and there were those who secretly went to the hotels to eat what was looked upon as forbidden food although they publicly criticised and condemned those who ate such food or mingled with members of other castes. Narayanrao described such men as "those who wish to aggrandise the caste system, who suffer men to be what they like in secret and wink at sins and vices, and preach the gospel of saying one thing and doing another, who will break the rules on the sly and yet studiously keep up appearances to please the caste!"

On his return from England, Narayanrao received an invitation to dinner at the Government House. Two friends who assumed the role of well-wishers told Narayanrao that he might formally accept the invitation but he need not worry about actually attending the dinner. They assured him that they would explain to Lord Reay, the Governor and Lady Reay the reason which, they thought, was the nervousness which Narayanrao must have had in his heart. Narayanrao did not accept the suggestion or the offer for mediation. He thankfully told his advisers that he did not hesitate to do publicly what many others did on the sly. They persisted in their kindness and advised Narayanrao not to be so hasty and rash. "Wait for some years," they said, "and when the times move, you move too." Evidently, Narayanrao's patience was almost at its end. He silenced his friends by telling them, "But time won't move unless I move." As though this mild rebuke was not enough, they counselled him still further, "Very well, if you think you must go to

**Dr. Bhandarkar's address to the Social Reform Association of Madras in 1894.

the Government House, you may. If, however, you are persecuted for having dined at the Government House, you can defend yourself by telling your critics that an invitation from the Government House is like an order from Her Majesty which cannot be disobeyed."

In the early forties of the Nineteenth Century the first organised movement in favour of inter-dining was started by the Paramahansa Sabha which had a precarious existence and an ignominious end. A similar campaign was started by the Cosmopolitan Club in Bombay about forty years later. Men belonging to different castes and professing different religions met under the roof of this Club and dined together. In 1895, after one of the Club's dinners, a member wrote to a newspaper and published the names of those who were present at the dinner. This mischievous act gave a death-blow to the Club. Narayanrao had nothing to do with the Club's activities, nor did he sympathise with its methods. Seventeen years later, however, he gave the lead to another organised effort which took shape in the foundation of the Aryan Brotherhood. Mr. Daftari, Solicitor, took the initiative in starting this organisation and Narayanrao became its first president. The Aryan Brotherhood held a Conference in 1912, and the proceedings of the conference were followed by an inter-caste dinner. Men belonging to different castes were present and they included Dr. Solanki and Mr. P. Baloo, the Cricketer, who belonged to the so-called depressed classes. Narayanrao opened the proceedings of the Conference with the following prayer:

"He Who in the beginning of the Aryan Society taught our foremost ancestors, the Rishis, to see and realise in this land, a world of beauty, wonder and admiration pulsating with the life and spirit of Brahma in the face of external Nature; Who in the second stage of our Aryan growth in ancient times taught the same Rishis to speak His views, and find the inner world of wonder, of beauty, and of admiration in the inner consciousness and heart of man, able to assert man's personality in the strength of God, and manifest itself in using nature for the higher ends of humanity;

Who in the third stage of our Aryan growth taught the same Rishis, our ancestors, to realise that life dominates the world external in man and Who taught them to chant the song divine and immortal which we cherish and worship as our most precious heritage of Aryan life, the Bhagavad Geeta; Who gave us such divine personalities as Rama and Sita, ideals of Hindu manhood and Hindu womanhood; Who in spite of our dissensions and differences has enabled the Hindu community to stand shock of all ages and endeavour to assert itself in the world of cosmic growth; Whom we worship as Brahma and Parameshwar, may He bless us in the sacred work for which we are all met here to-day, may He give us life and strength for the message and work we have met to confer and to do."

On reading an account of the proceedings of the Conference and of the activities of the Aryan Brotherhood, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, I.C.S., elder brother of the Poet, wrote to Narayanrao to offer him his congratulations on the laudable effort. He wrote as follows:

"Allow me to congratulate you on the anti-caste movement started by the Aryan Brotherhood. It is indeed a bold step to take but the times are propitious and under proper guidance the movement is bound to succeed. We in Bengal have broken through the caste rules as regards inter-dining but as regards inter-caste marriages, it is there that the shoe pinches. Except in the case of Sadharan Brahmo Samajists such marriages cannot be thought of. So practically caste reigns supreme in Bengal. It is a wise policy to give shastric basis to the movement but with us the voice of shastras has ceased and indeed the shastras may be made to speak anything you choose, for anything you may do in support of your position. And an orthodox pandit will cite the same texts against it."

Narayanrao's devotion to the cause of reform, and particularly its humane aspect which was dominated by sentiments of love and mercy, had permeated his home. His wife, Lakshmibai, clung to old traditions and she could not alto-

gether shake off certain prejudices based on communal and caste distinctions. Narayanrao preferred the western type of food, mainly for reasons of health, and it was necessary to have a special cook for the purpose. Lakshmibai never reconciled herself to the presence of a Goan Christian as a cook in the house, and she insisted on having two separate kitchens. Her dislike for the Goan Cook, however, was confined to the realm of eating; it did not overshadow or confine the limits of her large-heartedness and motherly tenderness. In 1902, Dr. A. Da Gama, the family doctor and a great friend of Narayanrao, died suddenly at Goa. His death gave a severe shock to his poor wife to whom the future appeared to be all dark. Narayanrao was in England at the time and Lakshmibai had gone for a brief stay to Hubli. Mrs. Da Gama wrote to Lakshmibai and asked her to help her in her dark hour of need. It was necessary for her to make residential arrangements in Bombay for her children. Accacio, the eldest of her three children, was studying at the Medical College, and Lakshmibai readily agreed to take him with her to Bombay and arrange for his stay in their own house. Accacio joined the party at the Londa Railway junction and in no time he became to Lakshmibai like one of her own children. Next year, Mrs. Da Gama also died and her other two children, Nina and Arthur, also were brought to Bombay and to her own house by Lakshmibai. The two Da Gama brothers and their elder sister stayed with the Chandavarkars nearly for two years before they were old enough to move to a separate home of their own. This touching episode reveals one secret of Narayanrao's outlook on life—his estimate of the woman as "the genius presiding not only over the domesticities but also the humanties of life." The speech from which this portion of a sentence is borrowed was delivered in March 1904. Could it be that he derived inspiration for the lecture from the presiding genius of his own home who contributed so nobly and lovingly to the cause of reform which was so dear to her husband's heart?

The National Social Conference held its annual session in December 1901 in Calcutta. Narayanrao, as its General Secretary after Ranade's death, had to make all the prepara-

tions including the selection of a suitable person to preside over the session. He thought that the best thing for him to do was to ask a gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of the orthodox party, to preside so that it would be easier to enlist the support of that party for the cause of social reform. With this object in view, he requested Raja Binoya Krishna, a big Zamindar of Calcutta. The Raja consented, but said, "Do not let us have anything revolutionary; I am orthodox and I want moderation." "I am of the same opinion," Narayanrao replied, "and I am glad to find that we agree; I don't want to revolutionise the Hindu society or to effect changes which are un-Hindu in character." Narayanrao, of course, did not say anything as to what he regarded as revolutionary. That the Raja had consented was in itself a distinct achievement for him for he knew that although the Raja was a rigid and orthodox Hindu, he had taken an active part in favour of what was known in those days as the sea-voyage movement, and that "his orthodoxy had enough of sweet reasonableness and enlightenment in it to make him a valuable acquisition to the Conference." This was Narayanrao's way of winning over men and thus enlisting wider support for the cause of reform. Indeed, he regarded it as a special duty of the Conference to move the orthodox and exercise a healthy influence on them, and he was able not only to have Raja Binoya Krishna as president but also to persuade some Pandits to join the Conference. When he approached them, one of them told him, "I am very glad you have come here in connection with the Social Conference; please, for God's sake, tell our people that our old customs are good, that our young men are becoming bad, that we have to learn nothing from the West." The orthodox gentleman was shocked to see that the young men smoked, put on English dress, and aped English fashions. The reform he wanted was a return to the Vedic times and customs. When he mentioned the Vedas, Narayanrao asked him, "Tell me one thing. You are denouncing our young men for smoking and for wearing English dress and aping English institutions. Here you are sitting with your hookah in your hand. Do the Vedas approve of the hookah? I have never come across anything in the Vedas to justify the smoking of a hookah." In his bewilderment, the old man could only

say that it was a habit he had acquired when he was young.

The more difficult and formidable part of Narāyanrao's task in Calcutta was still to follow. On the question of moving the resolution about the removal of the restrictions on the marriage of child-widows, he met with a good deal of opposition. The president, Raja Binoya Krishna, told him clearly that he did not wish to associate himself with the resolution. In his concluding speech at the session, Narayanrao said that he was happy to see that the Raja was cautious in his attitude for although he did not support the resolution, he did not oppose it. He had remained neutral. Narayanrao expressed his hope that "he is now not against us on this question of the marriage of child-widows, and before the Conference again meets in Calcutta, he will be with us. He has come more than half way with us—That is a sure sign that he will not stop there but move on."**

Before Narayanrao left Bombay for Calcutta to make arrangements for the Conference, he had heard reports that several friends in Bengal with all their progressive views in other matters, were opposed to the question of widow-marriage. He was told that Mr. Justice Ranade had met with considerable opposition during the previous session in Calcutta in 1896. He was also warned that he would have to encounter even greater opposition. He went to Calcutta resolved to stand by the resolution, come what might. When the resolution was moved and put to vote, a large number of people in the audience shouted, "We don't want our widows to marry." In his concluding speech, Narayanrao boldly asked these gentlemen in all seriousness whether they had thought over what they said, and what they comprehended,—the meaning of the attitude they had assumed towards the question. He went on:

"I saw a Bengali gentleman in the audience sitting right in my front facing the platform and he seemed to lead the opposition. I do not see the gentleman now in his place, and if he is not here, I hope my words will reach him somehow,

**Speeches and Writings: P. 101.

and he will, when he retires into the bosom of his family tonight, examine a little and then he will find how guilty those become of inhumanity who oppose the marriage of a child-widow.”*

At the Lahore session of the Conference held the previous year, there was a most enthusiastic and earnest gathering which accepted the resolution supporting the marriage of child-widows most heartily. Calcutta was the birth-place of the movement. Narayanrao wondered:

“If at Lahore the question aroused no opposition, should it arouse opposition in the very birth-place of the widow-marriage movement? Was not the first and foremost widow-marriage reformer of our times—Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar—born in Bengal? Was he not a Bengali? Did he not live and labour for the cause here in Calcutta? And have those who called themselves his countrymen gone so far down that they have forgotten his teachings and wish to blot out of the history of the progress of Bengal those pages of it which stand to the credit of Bengal because the name of Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar shines on them?”**

He placed these musings before the Calcutta audience. He went on to explain to the people present the limited scope of the resolution which was confined to the child-widow.

“Is she not the girl who is married to-day when she is 10 or 12 or 13 and whose husband dies perhaps the next day or before she comes to know the meaning of marriage?”†

He admitted that there was another kind of widowhood which belongs to those whose husbands die after they have lived some years of married life. Out of pious memory for the husband, the wife resolves to lead a life of widow-hood. Such a woman evokes our reverence and her resolution has to be respected. Imperceptibly but surely, he was winning over the minds of the opponents of the resolution. He asked the audience:

*Speeches and writings: Page 101.

**Speeches and writings: P. 102.

†Speeches and writings: P. 102.

"Am I to sit here and find many of my Bengali friends telling me that they have no sympathy for the child-widow? Then, if we are fathers, let us say we have not the love of a father; if we are brothers, we are selfish men, inhuman men, not deserving the name of brothers."*

After this righteous admonition he asked: "Is there still one amongst you who will now tell me that there are many still against the resolution?" Then several voices cried out, "No, none."

The miracle had taken place. What was stern opposition was converted by Narayanrao's words of magic into heartfelt sympathy and overwhelming support. When he saw that the audience did not much care for reason, he appealed to their emotion, their sense of humanity. When he asked them if he was to carry back with him the impression that the heart of the Bengali is wanting in the spirit of humanity, his words sank deep in the hearts of the audience. This speech is, indeed, a fine specimen of the way in which a reformer accomplishes his task with the gift of persuasive oratory. When he began his speech, his heart was full of doubt and nervousness. He ended it in triumph and in the midst of cheers by declaring that:

"If we cannot and will not be humane to her (child-widow)—if her wretched condition will not move us to pity and draw tears from our eyes—if we will not do our best to get society to better her lot—we shall continue to be guilty in the eyes of heaven of a cruelty that heaven will never forgive."**

When Shet Madhavdas Raghunathdas married a young widow, his community persecuted Shet Madhavdas and his wife Premkuvarbai, but things were made easy for them by the comforting protection given by Narayanrao and Lakshmi-bai. Shet Madhavdas gave the use of his own drawing room for the celebration of the remarriage of widows. All these

*Speeches and Writings: P. 103.

**Speeches and Writings: P. 104.

functions were brought about with Narayanrao's encouragement or active cooperation and help.

A child-widow was brought from Mangalore to Bombay by a relative who wanted to try to get her admitted to the Widows' Home started by Prof. D. K. Karve in Poona. Narayanrao saw the unfortunate girl and brought her to his home. Under the gentle, parental care of Narayanrao and Lakshmibai, she started her education. She passed the Matriculation Examination, and then joined a college. After about a year, a young man wished to marry her, and when Narayanrao and his wife saw that the girl was favourably inclined towards remarriage, they gave their consent and the marriage took place.

In 1855, some educated Hindus in Bombay started an Association for making organised efforts to improve the conditions of those who were looked upon and treated as untouchables. The attempt was short-lived because, as Narayanrao thought, the time was not ripe for such a step. In 1870, Keshab Chandra Sen, the great Brahmo leader, returned from England. He halted in Bombay for a few days. The Prarthana Samaj was just three years old then, and probably it had not at that time chalked out for its members a clear-cut programme of activities. Keshab Chandra delivered a lecture in the hall of the Framji Cowasji Institute in which he particularly called upon the members of the Prarthana Samaj to do something practical to elevate the so-called lower castes. The leaders of the Samaj whole-heartedly took up the idea. They started several night schools two of which were for the so-called untouchables. This was the first practical step taken in the matter. In 1891, Mr. Damodardas Sukhadwala, a leading member of the Samaj, started at his own expense a third school for Mahars in Byculla. The Prarthana Samaj, therefore, can justly claim to have initiated the movement which many years later became known as the Harijan movement. It was, again, an active missionary worker of the Prarthana Samaj, Mr. Vithal Ramji Shinde who, under the guidance of the President of the Samaj, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, founded the Depressed Classes Mis-

sion Society of India in 1906. Referring to Mr. Shinde's initial efforts, Narayanrao, in his inaugural address to the Benaras Session of the National Social Conference in 1905, said,

"My friend, Mr. Shinde, Missionary of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, has been making a tour in the country to find out what is being done for the elevation of those whom we treat as the outcastes of the society."

On the completion of his tour, Mr. Shinde made a detailed report in which he said that it was necessary to start an all-India body which would conduct activities for the elevation of the depressed classes in conformity with the ancient traditions of the country. He expressed his considered opinion which was based on his findings that this work ought to have a religious background. Mr. Shinde's report was carefully examined by the Committee of the Prarthana Samaj. Mr. Damodardas Goverdhandas Sukhadwala gladly offered a donation of a thousand rupees, and two days later, on October 18, 1906, the Depressed Classes Mission was founded in the Morarji Walji's bungalow near Elphinstone Road Railway Station. On the same day a school for the children of the Depressed Classes was started. Narayanrao, as president of the Mission, taught the pupils their first lesson. In his speech which he made in inaugurating the Mission, Narayanrao declared,

"By elevating the depressed classes, we are elevating ourselves."

If Mr. Vithal Ramji Shinde was the active part of the movement, its soul and also its brain was Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

Narayanrao was modest enough to admit that the movement was not started by them for the first time. He was anxious to give the credit to the saints of medieval times. He had for his testimony a sermon preached by a Mahar whom Narayanrao had heard some years ago. The Mahar preacher said,

"When the Vedas and the Brahmins deserted us Mahars as the despised of the earth, O, ye saints, you came to our rescue, and it is because of you, your preachings and practices, your words of comfort and hope that we, cast away by the higher castes as untouchables, bear the burden of life with content, reposing faith in Him to share whose love you daily invite us when we chant your hymns and songs."

One thought more than any other which Narayanrao always kept alive in his mind was that the workers of the Mission should never look upon their work as work done for charity and never allow their minds to be filled with the least sense of superiority or pride. On the contrary, he always reminded them and himself of the historical fact that centuries of injustice which the so-called higher castes were guilty of had brought the poor untouchables to such miserable conditions—poverty, ignorance and a sense of social inferiority. The programme of the Mission included education and industrial training for the Mahars, Mangs, Parias and other sects, the inculcation of a sense of equality by treating them with love and kindness, and to bring about their physical, intellectual and spiritual uplift by giving them guidance in hygiene, health, civics and moral life. The Mission gained in strength from day to day and during the five years from 1907 to 1912, its message and work spread to distant places like Surat, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore, Bankipore and Karachi where sessions of the Depressed Classes Conference were held with a view to creating an awakening among the people of those places. In 1912, an all-India Conference was held in Poona. Dr. Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar was the president of the Conference. A similar conference was held in Bombay in 1918 with Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda as president. All these activities were directed by Narayanrao and were conducted by V. R. Shinde.

Shortly after the Depressed Classes Mission was founded, a very useful activity was started under its auspices. It was the hostel for boys belonging to the depressed classes, which was opened at Parel. Two selfless and devoted men,

Vaman Sadashiv Sohoni and A. K. Sayyad, both members of the Prarthana Samaj, joined the Mission as workers. Mr. Sohoni took up the work of the hostel and worked as its superintendent for about fifteen years. It was unusual, and required rare courage in those times, for a man born in the Konkanastha Brahmin caste to take up that kind of work and to live with his wife and children with the boys belonging to the depressed classes. Prabhavatibhai Sohoni looked after the comforts of the boys of the hostel and they loved her as they loved their own mother. Mr. Sohoni had the sympathy and guidance of Narayanrao in his work. Narayanrao visited the hostel regularly and gave whatever help and encouragement he could to Mr. Sohoni and his wife in their work. One afternoon, in 1914, Narayanrao paid a surprise visit to the hostel. He was thrilled to find Mr. Sohoni, surrounded by his own children and the boarders, working in the garden. With his hands full of mud and folded Mr. Sohoni greeted Narayanrao who expressed to him his joy and satisfaction at the way in which he and his family had taken up the work.

Since the All-India National Social Conference was founded by Mr. Justice Ranade in 1887, local associations were formed in different places for the promotion of such activities as women's education, marriage of widows, removal of caste distinctions, temperance, etc. The Madras Hindu Social Reform Association had come into existence in the early nineties of the last century. Narayanrao was one of the all-India workers whom the Madras Association invited for their annual meetings. Extracts from his address delivered at the fourth anniversary meeting of the Association in 1896 have been taken in the preceding pages. He addressed the Mangalore Social Reform Association in 1900. Bombay felt the need of starting a similar organisation a little later. On June 28, 1903, some leading workers met to consider the proposal. A constitution was framed, and on September 1, 1903, the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was formally inaugurated. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar was elected the first president of the Association with Rao Bahadur Lal Shankar Umiashankar as Vice-

president and Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. B. N. Bhajekar, Mr. D. G. Padhye and Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas as Secretaries. The Association started its eventful career of launching a varied programme of work under the banner of social reform. Among its notable activities was its work to promote the cause of remarriage of widows. Some of the members constituted something like a bureau. Mr. Bhajekar and Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas started the nucleus of what developed into a Widows' Home by giving shelter to widows in their own homes. They continued to do so for several years till the Widows' Home was started in 1916. Mr. P. B. Gothoskar and Mr. A. S. Wagh who had set an example by marrying widows rendered honorary services as superintendents. Narayanrao was President of the association for 20 years and continued to direct its activities till the last day of his life in 1923.

IX

Politics

In 1885, some articles, mainly on political questions, appeared in the *Indu Prakash*. They were signed by "Political Rishi". Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar was the editor of the paper at the time. When the articles appeared, there were wild speculations as to who the "Political Rishi" was. Some thought that the articles were from the pen of Mr. Narayan Mahadev Paramanand who, as the first editor of the English columns of the *Indu Prakash*, and later as editor of the "Native Opinion", had already made a name for himself as a fearless and forceful writer. Others thought that the writer was Mahadev Govind Ranade because, in their opinion, none else was capable of writing with such depth of thought and meaning. While the readers of the articles were speculating among themselves as to who the writer was, Narayanrao told his friend, Vasudevrao Bhandarkar, in confidence that he had written the articles himself. Although he was the editor and wrote in the editorial columns, he had published these articles under the signature "Political Rishi" because he wanted to draw the particular attention of his readers to the topics which had, in his opinion, special significance. Among the articles which "Political Rishi" wrote there were two comparative surveys of the new trends in the political life and thought of Poona and Bombay. These two articles are noted for the writer's minuteness of observation, his impartiality of judgment and the earnestness with which he studied the situation, probably with the intention of taking greater interest and a more active part in the political activities. His considered opinion was that while Bombay talked and made much ado before, and, in some cases, without doing anything, Poona immediately translated the idea and scheme into action. He gave several instances of these tendencies observed in the public life and thought of both the places. In Bombay, there was an idea of starting a newspaper. The name was decided upon—"Voice of India". Then began a long series of

talks and consultations regarding the administrative and financial sides of the project; doubts were raised and difficulties were foreseen, and ultimately the scheme ended in smoke. On the other hand, the way in which the people of Poona founded an organisation like the Sarvajanik Sabha and launched an ambitious programme under its auspices, or conducted activities like the "Vasant Vyakhyan Mala" (Spring Lectures), engaged the writer's admiration. He also paid a warm tribute to the small band of enthusiastic, selfless young men who founded the New English School in Poona. With a touch of irony in his pen, Narayanrao observed that everything connected with Bombay was big and therefore it was only on occasions and in circumstances when big things were at stake, that the minds of the people of Bombay were roused to activity. It has already been noted in a previous chapter that while the Bombay Presidency Association was thinking only about sending a large number of leaflets to England, the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona came forward not only with the proposal to send delegates to England, but also with funds which it had collected for propaganda work in England to meet the expenses.

There was no fault-finding but a feeling of genuine regret in what the writer wrote about the political life of Bombay and what it lacked. He noted with pride the remark of an official member of the Supreme Legislative Council who complimented Bombay on being the centre of the best and select political thought in the whole of India. This compliment was not underserved for, as the writer pointed out, in great men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Naoroji Fardoonji and Rao Saheb Mandlik, or Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Bombay had leaders of political thought of the best type who had all the qualities required for giving the proper lead to the whole country in political affairs. In the case of the last three, namely Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Telang, he went further to enumerate what appeared to him as the distinctive features of the qualities of leadership each of them displayed. These three leaders, and two others he mentioned, namely, Zaverilal Umiashankar Yajnik and Damodardas Vithaldas Thakersey, were men who

did not have the silver spoon in their mouths when they were born. They all belonged to the middle classes and had risen to eminence by their own industry and ability. This, the writer noted with satisfaction, was as it should be for, he felt, the strings of political activities and, in fact, of all public movements should be in the hands of men who, though born in ordinary circumstances, had in them the strength of will and earnestness combined with extraordinary ability and an infinite capacity to work, rather than in the hands of those who were, as in days gone by, regarded as leaders only because they were rich or had influence with the rulers.

Even a casual reading of these articles is sufficient to show that the writer was feeling his ground and trying to find out for himself how he could make himself and his energies useful for the service of his country in the political sphere. That he had already found his footing, or found it very soon, is shown by the fact that in that very year he was selected to go to England as one of the three representatives of India to plead her cause before the English people. The compliment which Pherozeshah Mehta paid the delegates on their return that "they had certainly kindled a spark in the hearts of the English public....," was well deserved and it proved beyond doubt that the delegates—of whom N. G. Chandavarkar was one—had in them the making of political leaders.

In the same year, the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay under the presidency of W. C. Banerji. Narayanrao attended it as one of the delegates from Bombay. It was held on December 28. It was on the same day that Narayanrao returned to India from his mission abroad, and the report he gave to the delegates assembled of his visit was received with acclamation.

The Congress held its second session next year in Calcutta. At this session, Narayanrao made a speech in seconding the resolution on Council Reform. Mr. A. O. Hume, who was looked upon as the life and soul of the new organisation, complimented him on the speech. "Your speech," he wrote,

"if not the most important of the whole Congress, as I think it, is on all hands agreed to be one of the four most important. . ."

He began his speech by answering the objection that the political soil of India was not congenial to the growth of representative institutions. He said:

"We now and then hear it said that the people of India are not fit for representative institutions—that India is not England, and that it would not do to introduce here systems of Government which have worked well in a self-governing country like Great Britain. Let us examine this statement by the light of history. History tells us that India was, down to a recent period, known for her village municipalities and panchayats, both based and worked on the elective principle. We have it on the authority of an eminent Anglo-Indian writer that these institutions 'exercised a great and beneficial influence over the people.' I am quoting these words from Mr. Grieg's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*. Now, his testimony is important, because he was both a soldier and statesman—one, of whom, borrowing the language of Lord Rosebery, I might say, that he knew both how to conquer and maintain an Empire. His testimony is also valuable for another reason, namely, that he has distinctly declared that as India was conquered by the English with the assistance of the natives, it can be maintained with their assistance alone. To quote his own words: 'We could never have conquered India without the assistance of the natives of the country, and by them can we preserve it. Our actual condition makes this necessity more imperative.' Now Sir John, speaking of the Panchayat system as it prevailed in India, says, 'A recent instance occurred of a respected president of a Panchayat determining, from his sense of an unjust measure, to leave a town; and between two or three hundred of its wealthiest citizens so decidedly followed his example that oppression was stopped in its career and compelled to conciliate, by concession, an offended judge.' And this occurred in Sir John Malcolm's time—not very long ago."

He gave two more authorities from the Englishmen themselves in support of the view he was presenting:

"Then, again, some one has said that 'The East is parent of municipalities,' and I have seen cited in illustration of that saying the following fact: When on the conquest of the twenty-four Pergunnahs, the old municipal system was abolished, great calamities befell that country, so much so that Mr. Butterworth Bayley, then in charge of the district, had to restore the old system, and trust to the people themselves. The consequence of this revival of the municipal system has been stated in an official paper to have been that in nine months the crime sheet presented a blank.

"Sir Bartle Frere, you all know, was an experienced Anglo-Indian administrator. He was by no means inclined to be partial to the natives of this country. His testimony must, therefore, carry some weight with those who cry from the house-tops that India is not, and can never be, fit for representative institutions. Sir Bartle read a paper in 1871 at a meeting of the East India Association in London on 'Public Opinion in India', and here is what he said on the occasion. 'Any one who has watched the working of Indian society will see that its genius is one to represent, not merely by election under Reform Acts, but represent generally by provisions, every class of the community, and when there is any difficulty respecting any matter to be laid before Government, it should be discussed among themselves. When there is any fellow-citizen to be rewarded or punished, there is always a caste meeting, and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the genius of the people, as it was of the old Saxons, to gather together in assemblies of different tribes to vote by tribes or hundreds'."

Mr. Chandavarkar, therefore, emphatically held that "the Indian soil is congenial to the growth of representative institutions—that, in other words, the genius of the Indian people is of a representative character....."

Narayanrao attended the annual sessions of the Congress regularly for the next three years. In 1889, the Congress met

again in Bombay with Sir William Wedderburn as President. Narayanrao participated in the deliberations of this session and spoke on some of the important resolutions. After 1889, he did not attend the Congress meetings for ten years, and the first session of the Congress he attended after this long break was the one held at Lahore in 1900 over which he presided. His absence at the Congress meetings did not mean that during this period his interest had waned or was waning. From 1889 to 1900 he was Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. In 1896, he presided over the Provincial Conference which was held in Karachi. The Conference was held on May 2. In accordance with his usual practice Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar began his presidential address with a historical survey in which he sought to remove the mistaken idea, which it was a fashion to hold, that Sind was an isolated and neglected province and part of the Bombay Presidency. With grateful appreciation he mentioned that some of the distinguished leaders in Bombay and Maharashtra—Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar, Mr. Narayan Mahadev Paramanand, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dewan Bahadur L. J. Vaidya, Mr. Vaman Abaji Modak and others—made their acquaintance with and gained their official experience in the province of Sind in the beginning of their career—experience which, the speaker presumed to think, must have enabled them subsequently to become trusted leaders of the public. At the end of his speech, in which he gave a comprehensive account of the important topics and noticeable features of the Provincial Administration, he reminded the delegates of their object which was “to help the administration as far as we can do—to do what lies in our power to bring the light of provincial public opinion to bear on the policy and principles of provincial administration.”**

He told them that “In claiming rights and asking for the redress of grievances on behalf of the people, we recognise our own responsibilities and duties—the duty we owe to our countrymen of devoting ourselves to the cause of their welfare and progress.”†

**Speeches and Writings—Page 292.

†Speeches and Writings—Page 292.

In the midst of his professional work, which was fast increasing, and his political work and work in other spheres of the public life, Narayanrao was elected, in 1897, as a member of the Legislative Council from the University in the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Zaverilal Umiashankar Yajnik. Among those who contested the election were Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawdekar and Dr. Mackichan of Wilson College. Both these rivals were Narayanrao's personal friends and he was working in close association with them in various spheres of public work, and the contest was not allowed by any one of the three friends and colleagues to affect their personal relations. Mr. Chandavarkar was returned with an overwhelming majority. His youngest maternal uncle, Mr. Manjunath V. Kaikini, in a letter he wrote to Narayanrao, gave expression to his apprehensive feelings about the additional burden which Narayanrao had, by his election to the Legislative Council, undertaken. Narayanrao, in his reply, stated:

"What you say about my professional business in the event of my election to the Council is true to some extent. At present my practice is enough to occupy my mind, and if I am elected, I shall have to work harder." He was re-elected to the Council from the same constituency in 1899, but resigned on his being appointed Judge of the High Court in January, 1901. The period during which he was a member of the Council became conspicuous for the visitation of two great calamities—the famine and the plague. Narayanrao frequently visited the areas affected by the famine to see for himself whether the relief measures adopted by Government were adequate. His regime as a member of the Council was particularly marked by the keen interest with which he studied the annual Budgets and subjected them to constructive criticism.

During these years, the Indian National Congress was growing in strength and in numbers. At its annual meetings held in different parts of the country, men with learning and imagination, with a keen desire to serve their country and a robust hope in its bright future and in the success of their

own efforts to achieve that end, met and discussed. Its method and chosen path was that of constitutional agitation. With clear ideas about their objects and methods, the Congress leaders were able to create an awakening and crystalize public opinion which became the spade-work for subsequent political activities which ultimately led to the attainment of freedom. Although Narayanrao did not attend the Congress meetings for a period of ten years, his connections with that organisation and with its leaders were unbroken. Mr. A. O. Hume had prepared a plan according to which the work of the Congress which was to rouse and mould public opinion could be kept going throughout the year from one annual meeting to the next. He thought of Mr. Chandavarkar for this work which, he proposed, should consist of tours in different parts of the country. He wrote to Narayanrao about his proposal:

“You are not only a powerful writer yourself, but you have great influence with other journalists and what I have to ask of you is that you will, personally and through all those with whom you have influence, do your utmost.”

The confidence which Mr. Hume and the other leaders of the Congress had in Narayanrao was also expressed in Mr. Hume's letter in which he said:

“You are one of those to whom my friends look hopefully for sterling work for India after I and some others have gone ‘to where, beyond these voices, there is peace’.”

Mr. Hume even went further. He told Narayanrao:

“If I cannot get you, I do not know whom we can get.”

Mr. Hume wrote these words as a result of his experience about some other leaders who also had oratorical powers. About one of them he wrote:

“.....once went to the Punjab, but he did more harm than good.....”

It was probably this confidence which elder leaders like

Mr. Hume had in Narayanrao's ability that brought about his election as President of the annual session of the Congress which was held in 1900 at Lahore. He regarded it as the proudest moment of his life. The call, however, came to him rather late and at the commencement of his presidential address he confessed that there was not much time left for him to get ready for the work. The address was mostly topical as a major portion of it was devoted to the discussion of the problems arising out of the famine which was engaging the attention of everybody at the time. Shortly after his election to the Presidentship of the Congress was announced, Mr. Chandavarkar was offered the appointment as Judge of the Bombay High Court which he accepted after making it clear to the Governor of Bombay that he had already accepted the Presidentship of the Congress and there was no going back on that decision.

For the next fourteen years, during which he was Judge of the High Court for twelve years and, later, Chief Minister of Indore State for about eighteen months, Narayanrao could not take an active part in political work. These fourteen years wrought a vast change in the Congress as well as in the political conditions in the country. The Congress began in 1885 with the declaration of a faith in the British connection that was irrevocable for any Congressman. This faith was reiterated by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, one of the founders of the Congress who, in the closing years of the nineteenth and opening years of the twentieth century, was practically its mainstay, in his speech of welcome to the Congress session held in Bombay in 1904. He said:

"My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience; seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell, in dispensations rather than revelations, seeing God's will, like him, in fulfilment of events, I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so wonderful,—a little island set at one end of the world establishing itself in a far continent as different as could be, that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's Will."**

**Pherozeshah Mehta—A Political Biography by H. P. Mody—Vol. II, Page 447.

This attitude towards the British rule—acceptance of it as a Divine Dispensation was to be commonly found in all members of the Congress during the first twenty years of its career. Of course, these early leaders and their devoted followers were equally emphatic in their demand that those who had come to India to govern, as a dispensation of Providence, should rule with broadmindedness giving due consideration to the demand of the Indians for an adequate share and representation in the making of laws and in matters of administration. They were firm believers in the benefits of the British rule, and, therefore, they could not entertain or tolerate any idea of severing the connections with the British. During the first decade of this century, however, a tide of extremism arose in the affairs of the Congress. It first became visible at Benaras in 1905, and the storm broke out in 1907 at Surat. External factors were equally responsible for bringing about this change. The foremost of these was the regime of Lord Curzon as Viceroy in India which began with the close of the nineteenth century. Lord Curzon was brilliant in many respects. His early career as Viceroy attracted the admiring gaze of Congressmen who praised him in profuse terms. At a public meeting held in Calcutta in February 1899 in aid of the Famine Fund, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta described Lord Curzon as “one who had unbounded affection and sympathy for the country and its people, and whose energy and force of character kept pace with his love and sympathy.”** Narayanrao, in his presidential address to the Congress paid a graceful tribute to Lord Curzon,—not only to his ability but also to the fine qualities his heart possessed. He spoke of him “as a statesman of whom we may justly say that he promises to be all that a Viceroy of India ought to be.”† These leaders of the Congress were sincere in the loyal praise which they showered on Lord Curzon, but, in the light of the confidential correspondence of that Viceroy which has recently come to light, it has to be admitted that they, with all their wisdom and keen observation, could not see Lord Curzon as he really was—so unbounded was their

**Pherozeshah Mehta—A Political Biography by H. P. Mody—Vol. II, Page 483

†Speeches and Writings—Page 299.

loyalty and so profound their faith in the British connection. In the correspondence which was recently made available to some research students in the India Office Library, letters written by Lord Curzon to the Secretary of State have been found. In one of them, written towards the close of 1900, Lord Curzon expressed his belief that "the Congress is tottering towards its fall." He was so unappreciative of the tributes which were paid to him—indeed, so ungrateful—that he spoke of the Lahore session of the Congress in words which did him no credit. He said,

"At the Lahore Congress, he (Mr. Chandavarkar) made, on the whole, a moderate, wishy-washy speech, and the speakers throughout the meeting seem to have spent the greater part of their time in complimenting me and expressing pious aspirations which, I am afraid, it will be my duty to shatter."

These words were unbecoming even of an arrogant ruler that Curzon was. The events that followed were acts deliberately planned by him in accordance with the policy he gave utterance to in the above words. With an iron hand which became more visible as days and months passed, and with a spirit that became more and more unbending and intolerant, the Viceroy began a series of measures which culminated in the Partition of Bengal. The feelings of discontent which some of the more spirited members of the Congress were nursing in their bosoms as a result of what they regarded as a failure of the Congress agitation, was fanned to fire by that autocratic and ill-conceived measure of Lord Curzon. This section, headed by Bipin Chandra Pal, Arabindeo Ghosh and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, pushed the new spirit forward and before long the Congress found itself divided between two camps. It must be said to the lasting credit of the Lion of Bombay, as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was aptly called, that while he lived, he was able to keep the extremists under control as long as they were within the Congress fold, and at a distance after they broke away from it in 1907 at Surat. The details of the Surat split and what followed it are matters of common knowledge. Although Pherozeshah Mehta

was firm in his opposition to proposals to bring about a union between the moderate and extremist sections and was able to keep the extremists away even at the cost of displeasing some of his intimate friends and colleagues, it was not possible for him to arrest the growth of their popularity and the extremist views were slowly but steadily gaining ground in the country. The difference of outlook and objectives between the Moderates and the Extremists is very clearly brought out in a letter which Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale wrote to Mr. Bhupendranath Basu in 1914. He said:

“Mr. Tilak has told Mr. Subba Rao frankly and in unequivocal terms that though he accepts the position laid down in what is known as the Congress Creed, viz. that the aim of the Congress is the attainment by India of self-government within the empire by constitutional means, he does not believe in the present methods of the Congress which rest on association with Government where possible, and opposition to it where necessary. In place of these he wants to substitute the method of opposition to Government pure and simple within constitutional limits.....Mr. Tilak wants to address only one demand to the Government here and to the British public in England, viz., for the concession of self-government to India, and till that is conceded, he would urge his countrymen to have nothing to do with either the public services or Legislative Councils and Local and Municipal Bodies. And by organising obstruction to Government in every possible direction within the limits of the laws of the land, he hopes to be able to bring the administration to a standstill, and compel the authorities to capitulate. This is briefly his programme, and he says that he wants to work for its realisation through the Congress if he and his followers are enabled to rejoin it, or failing this, by starting a new organization to be called the National League.”**

Mrs. Annie Besant with her “Home Rule” movement had entered the political field and joined the Congress in 1914. She brought new ideas, and a new method of organisation

**Pherozeshah Mehta—A Political Biography by H. P. Mody—Vol. II, Page 656.

into the Congress field. Tilak also started a strong agitation for Home Rule. In 1914, the Great War broke out, and it created hopes and expectations in the minds of Congressmen. As Mrs. Besant put it, "There had been talk of a reward due to India's loyalty; but India does not chaffer with the blood of her sons and the proud tears of her daughters in exchange for so much liberty, so much right. India claims the right, as a Nation, to justice among the peoples of the Empire. India asked for this before the war; India will ask for it after the war; but not as a reward, but as a right does she ask for it. On that there must be no mistake."**

Thus during the first fifteen years of this century, there was a total change of language, change of attitude and even a change of objective. The language which was familiar to the early leaders who talked of the British Rule as a Divine Dispensation and who hardly missed an opportunity of expressing their loyalty to the British Ruler—The Queen or the King—disappeared. The idea of 'Divine Dispensation' was gone. Now the new leaders who sought to have power in the Congress field, and did have it before long, talked of demanding India's liberty as a right, and from mere agitation in words, the policy of the Congress was fast being converted into one of direct action.

The year 1915 was the turning point. Gokhale died on February 19 of that year, leaving Pherozeshah Mehta alone. He too was broken in health. He made what proved to be his last—and because of his death, an abortive—effort to maintain the integrity of the old Congress. At his suggestion, the Congress session was arranged to be held in Bombay and it was also through his personal effort that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, who had been Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and who commanded respect from all for his wisdom and character, was chosen as President of the session. Pherozeshah Mehta passed away on November 5, a few weeks before the Congress met in Bombay. The nationalist group walked in, although Tilak had to wait for a year

**The History of the Congress—B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Pages 201-202.

before he could have things in his own way in the Congress, and therefore he started the Home Rule League on April 23, 1916, six months before Mrs. Besant started her own. There is no doubt that the disappearance of Gokhale and Mehta, one after the other in the same year, and at that particular juncture, gave a complete turn to the course of events in the Congress. Within two years or so, the Moderates had to walk out.

After a break of fourteen years, it was probably not easy for Narayanrao to find his place in the Congress politics. He was now free to take up political work again and, in his own way, took it up. It was, however, clear now that men like him who stuck to their ideas about the British connection and constitutional agitation had no place in the new framework that was fast taking shape in the Congress. It was in 1918 that these men led by Sir Surendranath Bannerji, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar founded a new organisation and held the first session of the All India Moderates' Conference in Bombay in November.

While the ideals and expectations of the new leaders of the Congress soared high, the old Congressmen, who thenceforth became known as Moderates—and later as Liberals—were essentially practical in their outlook and their approach to political problems. The Reform Proposals of Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford (which later became the framework of the Reforms Act of 1919) were before the country. The Congress leaders would have nothing to do with the proposals. The Moderates welcomed them as “constituting a distinct advance on present conditions”, as stated in the resolution passed by the Moderates' Conference. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who seconded the resolution, clearly stated the Moderate point of view as follows:

“When we speak of the dominant key-note of the Moderate Party.....I ask you to judge that principle of ours by two or three cardinal principles of ancient and modern polity of constitution; for, remember, when people in these days are using those catch-words of “self-determination”, “self-

government" and "democracy", and when President Wilson is often referred to as the author of these words which have become the current coin of the day, we are apt to forget the very cardinal principle of every democratic constitution from which are derived these words 'democracy', 'self-government' and 'self-determination'—the cardinal principle of which the father is the founder of the liberty of the ancient Greeks from whom all democracy, self-government and all real notions of liberty have been derived by all the nations of the earth of modern times. It was Solon who, when he gave a democratic constitution to Athens, said that he gave a constitution, not the best fitted for the Athenians but one which, under the circumstances, was tolerable to the prejudices and diverse classes of the Athenian population."

The Moderates were as earnest as the Extremists in their desire to see their country freed from political bondage, but they were careful not to allow their zeal to get the better of their commonsense which sounded the note of caution that, under the circumstances that existed in the country, it would not be wise to demand or wish to have political freedom all at once.

The second great difference between the Extremists and the older group to which Narayanrao belonged was that the former believed in and advocated direct action—indeed, during the years that followed direct action became the dominant feature of the Congress creed—while the latter were firm believers in wise and cautious thinking and peaceful, though insistent, agitation. It was for this reason that men of the older group found themselves strangers in the political life of the country and their voice and line of thinking became a cry in the wilderness, as the educated classes, and even the masses, came to believe more and more in direct action—in something that was spectacular and full of excitement.

In his History of the Congress, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya examining the position in 1915, described Sir Narayan Chandavarkar after his retirement as a judge as a "spent

force" in politics. It is no wonder that to men like the author of the History of the Congress whose political memory was too short-lived to remember the spade-work done by the early leaders and to appreciate adequately their point of view and stand, those who did not belong to their own camps should appear as "spent forces." It is noteworthy, however, that Dr. Sitaramayya's political chief, Mahatma Gandhi, did not, as will be seen a little later, regard Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as a spent force, but accepted his advice when he suspended civil disobedience in 1921.

After his return from Indore, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar once again took to political life, but the times were troublous, surcharged with animosities, jealousies and, even to a certain extent, a craze for power. For a time, he was seen taking a prominent part in the delicate negotiations initiated by the Bombay Presidency Association on the question of the exterment of Mrs. Besant and similar burning questions of the day, but he was not to be in active politics for long. His intellect, his wise sagacity and the very broad and calm outlook he brought to bear on any question eminently fitted him for the role of a thinker and a wise counsellor, and in that role, and from a position which was detached and high above the din and turmoil of the political arena, he continued to give to his countrymen till the end of his life wise and far-sighted counsel and, as on several occasions, a correct lead and guidance. In 1916, he wrote a series of articles in the Times of India on "The Government of India—Its Evolution and Growth." These articles were not only a comprehensive survey on the question but were also calculated to educate the people in the art of Government which they would be called upon to undertake and practise. On the Rowlatt Bill and the Jalianwala Baug tragedy, on the South African Question and the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi, on the Reforms proposed by the Secretary of State, Mr. Montague, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and on all other public questions which called for a careful examination and a clear lead, Narayanrao wrote to newspapers, issued statements and addressed public meetings, and all his pronouncements were as weighty as they

were wise, and engaged the close attention even of his adversaries in the political field. That Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was not a "spent force" in politics after 1915 but was looked upon by people belonging to all shades of opinion as a wise counsellor and a trusted guide can be seen notably from the two public meetings held in Bombay in 1920—one was held at the Excelsior Theatre under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association on July 3 to protest against the Hunter Committee's Report on the Jalianwala Bagh atrocities, and the other was held only ten days later—on July 13—in the same place under the auspices of the Imperial Citizenship Association and seven other Associations to consider the Indian situation in East Africa and Fiji. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was called upon to preside over both the meetings. At one of them, probably the one which was held to consider the question of the Indians in East Africa and Fiji, the principal resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi who, rising to move it after the Chairman's opening speech, said at the outset that it was not quite necessary for them to pass any resolution for, he felt, even if they were to forward only the Chairman's weighty and thoughtful speech to the Government of India, their purpose would be served. Narayanrao's speeches as Chairman of both these meetings were weighty pronouncements marked both for their wisdom and depth of feeling. He concluded his speech on the Hunter Committee's Report with a note of caution to Government which was conveyed by him through the lesson that the Mutiny of 1857 had already taught. He said:

"During the Mutiny of 1857 there were excesses, there was violence and there was indiscriminate retaliation. As the Viceroy of the time, Lord Canning, wrote to the Queen during the dark days of the Mutiny, there was rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to have set a better example. Said Lord Canning, 'Not one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand men would be otherwise than practicable and right.'" In spite of Lord Canning's attempts to check that rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness, there was indiscriminate hanging and shooting. Lord Canning, however, did not

publicly take action against the excesses because, as he said, he did not like to expose his countrymen, and thought that it was enough that he had taken steps to prevent recurrence of similar vindictive barbarities in the future, should a similar situation arise. We see now that the steps taken then were forgotten in the Punjab tragedy. Therefore, having these precedents before us, we think it our duty to represent to Parliament and the British Public that the situation created by the Martial Law excesses in the Punjab in 1919 should be dealt with in a more determined manner than that formulated in the Secretary of State's despatch. That is the object of this meeting and the resolutions which will be submitted to you are framed on those lines."

In his speech at the second meeting—held to consider the East African question—also, he voiced the warning of history. He quoted the following words of Sir Charles Wood which he had uttered in the House of Commons in 1861:

"All experience teaches us that where a dominant race rules another, the mildest form of Government is despotism. It has been so, I believe, at all times, and among all nations in every part of the world."

The closing words of Narayanrao's speech were full of weight and meaning as they came from the depth of his heart:—

"Western Civilization is now on its trial and threatens chaos. I will not, however, dwell upon the "tu quoque" argument because religion and philosophy are not of the West alone or East alone. Western Civilization, religion and philosophy owe to the East—Christ was born, lived and gave his immortal light in and to the East before it travelled to the West. He knew no East and West but preached and practised and lived the Universal in all men. The Europeans and Asiatics who point their fingers of scorn at each other are but the like of the Pharisees of his time whom he denounced. Further, would not Christ remind them that religious toleration is the basis of political liberty, that 500 years before he

was born and died on the cross for humanity, India, of all countries in the world, had preached and practised through Emperor Ashoka, the principle of religious tolerance to which India has ever since adhered to her eternal credit and which forms the vital creed of the British Empire also? It is only by that principle that the Empire can be best served and saved, its claim to its motto "*Imperium et Libertas*" justified. I recall to my mind the written message—which in 1913 the late Lady Hardinge, wife of Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, communicated to me through a mutual friend after reading Rabindranath Tagore's poems. She said that while India needed the tonic of England's spirit of action, the British Empire, nay, Western Civilization, needed equally the saving balm of India's religion and philosophy of calm content and contemplation to save it from a mad rush after materialism; and that such a blend of the West and East alone can make the British Empire enduring."

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's last weighty contribution to political thought before his appointment as President of the Legislative Council was the series of articles he wrote to warn Mahatma Gandhi, the author of the Non-Cooperation movement, of the peril of that step. It is not necessary to reproduce at length in these pages the arguments he put forward. The following passage which forms the concluding portion of his article on "Non-Cooperation—Prophet or Autocrat?" in the Times of India of August 16, 1920, gives the best and the noblest thoughts contained in his arguments and also reveals the magnanimity with which he dealt with persons or views he did not agree with:

"In saying so, I am by no means blind to the immense debt of gratitude we owe to Mr. Gandhi. We do not take full measure of the man by merely describing him as a saintly character, as a hero, and as a great personality. He is more—a prophet,—India's awakened and still awakening Soul is speaking unto us through him and warning us against the dangers of materialism in an age which has made an idol-of economics and which is agonised by so-called policy, diplomacy, and clever management of men as machines passing

for state-craft whether in politics, religion or social matters. He is India's spiritual barometer, her soul-force. Because he is a prophet, we must follow him when he fulfils the prophet's apostolic function of rousing our inward man and exposing the evils of the day. He is like Jeremiah, Carlyle and Tukaram. We must harken unto his voice so far only—that is to say, so far as his diagnosis of the moral diseases of the body politic go,—by the body politic meaning the whole social organisation, not merely Government. But as to the specific remedy for the disease, we with our judgment and experience of the world must find it for ourselves and apply it with the aid of the light awakened in us by the Prophet. Carlyle was a prophet and spoke wisely when he diagnosed the normal disease of his age corrupting its politics and social circles, and the world listened and still listens. But when he laid down the law and prescribed the remedy, he spoke not as a prophet but declaimed as an autocrat and went wrong. Who now cares for his patent remedies for the diseases of the body politic? And yet he was and remains a prophet—so is Mr. Gandhi.

“Mr. Gandhi has avowed and is going about preaching his doctrine of non-cooperation and passive resistance as the only remedy for our political evils in particular and generally for hastening the era of self-government for India in a way which he thinks no other panacea can effect in the present circumstances of the country. But with all reverence for him as a prophet, and bowing to him in all humility for his warnings to Government and the people alike to cultivate spirituality as the basis of political and other progress, I beg to appeal to my countrymen to lay to heart the fact writ large upon the history of India. To that fact the eminent Indian historian, Prof. Jadunath Sarcar, has prominently drawn attention in his life of Shivaji. He says in that life that Shivaji's heroic fight for self-government in India failed because after he had won self-government for the Maratha nation by overthrowing the Mahomedan power and after Shivaji's heroic personality has disappeared, history repeated itself in India and destroyed self-government.....Already there are signs in our own times.....and I see the storm brewing. The

Brahmin and Non-Brahmin controversy may seem a mood of the hour, but I do not think so. I will not, for want of space, enlarge on the theme. I will only say this that assuming that non-cooperation succeeds in bringing the British Government to its knees and overthrowing it, there is warning of history so eloquently emphasized by Prof. Jadunath Sarcar. The aftermath of the success will be that the social grades, as of old, will turn against each other. That is the peril of the situation which Mr. Gandhi and all the rest of us have to face unless we are prepared to say "After us, the deluge."

Mahatma Gandhi bestowed on Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's words of warning and advice the serious thought they deserved. This is clear from the following passage from D. G. Tendulkar's "Mahatma":

Gandhi felt that he would better serve "the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders," by the suspension of civil resistance. He announced on July 21, "The Government of India has given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that the resumption of civil disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security. The warning has been reinforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at the interviews to which I was summoned. In response to these warnings and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur Govind Raghava Aiyar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume civil resistance for the time being."

X

Indore

The year 1912 was the Golden Jubilee year of the Bombay High Court and, as we have seen, Narayanrao's mind was full of memories of the glorious fifty years during which that august institution had brought about a vast change not only in the system of judicial administration but also in the life of the society as a whole. He concluded the article he contributed to the Times of India on August 14 to commemorate the occasion in the following words:

"In that respect, as in other respects,—in the sphere both of its direct and its indirect influence—we may well say on this occasion of the Jubilee of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay that its record on the whole speaks true. May it always speak so!"

While these musings occupied Narayanrao's mind, circumstances which sought to draw him away from the High Court were taking shape in a distant place—the Indian State of Indore. His Highness Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar had just assumed full administrative powers of the State and his youthful mind was full of glorious ideas about the prosperity of the State and the well-being of his people. His gaze had dwelt with fond admiration on the work that was and was being accomplished by the leaders of social reform in the country and among those who had attracted his particular attention was Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the eminent Judge of the High Court and a leader of the social reform movement, whose tireless enthusiasm and energy continued to run through new and ever-widening channels of useful activity, one of the latest forms it had assumed being the Social Service League, founded in 1911 under his presidentship. The Maharaja felt that here was the man who could satisfy the youthful yearnings of his heart for the accomplishment of the good of his people through an enlightened and wise

administration. He decided to win Narayanrao's active co-operation in the task by appointing him his Chief Minister.

Narayanrao had taken leave joined to the summer vacation and was spending his days in rest and in communion with Nature among the hills of Lonavla which he loved so much. The quiet of his rest was one day slightly disturbed by the arrival of a telegram. It was from Rao Bahadur Mulay, a member of the Indore State Council. Narayanrao remembered Rao Bahadur Mulay as his contemporary at the Elphinstone College where both were students, but he could not imagine what could be the object of his proposed visit, for the telegram had stated that the Rao Bahadur was proceeding to Lonavla to see him. When the visitor arrived, he conveyed to Narayanrao his Ruler's wish to have him (Narayanrao) as his Chief Minister. Narayanrao's astonishment knew no bounds, but he was not slow in his reply. Although Rao Bahadur Mulay stated in glowing terms what high esteem the Maharaja held him in, Narayanrao told him that for various reasons he could not entertain the thought of accepting a post, however exalted, in a Native State. It was no easy task, however, to satisfy the visitor from Indore, and, therefore, Narayanrao had to tell him in plain words that he could not think of accepting any new office before he was due for retirement from the Bench of the High Court in September. Rao Bahadur Mulay was undeterred. "Never mind," he said, without losing hope, "His Highness can easily wait for a few months". On this conversation Narayanrao wrote his own comment,

"Even then, I was not at all sure I would ever make up my mind to serve in a Native State with its life of intrigue."

"I was not at all sure....." he said to himself about making up his mind to serve in a Native State. Did he at all have a doubt about his own resolve to close the door on the Maharaja's offer and to forget it altogether? Perhaps he did, and presumably, it was something in his mind that made him "not sure about himself"—that something which, as will be seen, ultimately persuaded him to accept the offer. In the beginning, however, he persisted and was almost ada-

mant in his refusal to yield to the Maharaja's importunities. A few months later, Mr. Kirtane, a judge of the Sudder Court of Indore, reopened the negotiations in a letter which he wrote to Narayanrao on January 27, 1913. Mr. Kirtane wrote:

"His Highness has great personal regard and respect for you and he himself is a keen enthusiast for social reform. H. H. has full confidence in you and it is after mature reflection that H. H. has desired me to ascertain your wishes in the matter.....H. H. has just entered as a ruler full of hope and promise and this is just the time when he should have assistance and co-operation of a minister of unblemished character and tried integrity and ability, and we all feel that he cannot make a happier choice than your good self."

Narayanrao wrote a reply to Mr. Kirtane on January 29 in which he stated:

"It is too late for me to begin a new life and career, to which I have not been accustomed, and undertake the arduous duties of the government of a State, with its own problems, which must be new to me."

Mr. Kirtane saw Narayanrao a fortnight later and told him that the Maharaja, who was in Bombay and was staying at the Jay Mahal Palace (of the Maharaja of Baroda) on the Nepean Sea Road, wished Narayanrao to see him. During the meeting, which was the first one between His Highness and Narayanrao, His Highness pressed his offer once again. Narayanrao's reply in the negative filled his mind with sore disappointment, and with his voice betraying that feeling, he told Narayanrao that the deepest hunger of his heart was to establish in his State a rule which was free from all that was low and corrupt, and he could look for no better guide or counsellor who was entirely free from all considerations of caste distinctions or partisanship. The Maharaja had set his heart on commencing his rule with a lofty ideal and with a determination to achieve it. As Narayanrao listened to the Maharaja's words of appeal, no doubt was left in his mind

about the youthful ruler's sincerity which did not fail to move him. He climbed down from the stern refusal he had persisted in and told the Maharaja that he should give him some time for consideration. It was becoming more and more evident to him that the Maharaja's offer was a fresh opportunity to do God's work, but he could not easily take a final decision. For one thing, before deciding he wanted to consult his wife, who at the time had gone to Karwar. He also wanted to see whether he could accept the offer with certain conditions which would remove all possibility of having to compromise his principles and, of course, his position and prestige. Ultimately he decided to go. One of the conditions which he suggested and which the Maharaja gladly accepted was

"that in every state matter I should be consulted by His Highness beforehand and that no order of his should be made without previous consultation with me."

Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court was sure that the Maharaja would not accept this condition and told Narayanrao that he was glad that, after all, he (Narayanrao) was going to stay at the High Court. The Maharaja's ready acceptance of the condition probably must have given Sir Basil a surprise he was not prepared for.

Another condition which Narayanrao proposed and which was accepted by the Maharaja was the liberty to stay away from the 'Nautch' parties. He told the Maharaja:

"I have all along been on principle opposed to 'Nautch' parties. I have refused invitations to them and have both publicly and privately condemned them. At Durbars and other functions in Native States, such parties are customary. If that is the case in Your Highness's State and if Your Highness is of opinion that a long established usage cannot be abolished at once, I should have the liberty to stay away from such parties."

In these words was perhaps implied also a wish or a suggestion that consistently with his wish to reform the

society and social conditions in the State, the Maharaja should adopt the policy of doing away with the practice of having 'Nautch' parties in the Durbar *gradually* if he could not have a long established usage abolished *all at once*. It is more than evident that the new Chief Minister sought not only to bring his wisdom, intellectual power and administrative ability to bear on the affairs of the State but was equally anxious to impress the Maharaja with his own principles of behaviour even in private matters. For thirtyfive years Narayanrao had advocated the cause of reform with a courage and sincerity which rose above all considerations of popular applause or disfavour, and in doing so, his eye was steadfastly fixed on certain principles which were to him the same in public affairs as in private life. He had consented to go as the Chief Minister, and therefore as the principal counsellor, of a youthful ruler who, he was evidently convinced, was sincere in the profession of his readiness to be guided by him in all state matters and in whom, he was told and probably he believed, "to a sweet and amiable disposition are felicitously combined a wonderfully strong and noble character and a reflective and thoughtful mind." At any rate, Narayanrao's decision was prompted by the hope that, as the Maharaja's Chief Minister, he would be able to do some good to the State. On March 11, he wrote to Mr. Kirtane:

"I have agreed to serve H. H. solely as a call to duty and in response to His Highness's earnest wish expressed by him personally during our interview and conveyed through you and others that I should take up the office of His Highness's Chief Minister to maintain the dignity and credit of His Highness, to serve him loyally and regard his interests, the interests of his state, both material and moral, as mine, to seek for no personal benefit but to do my best in my office for the good of His Highness's subjects and the greatness of his government,—these are my ideals and my aspirations; and I have faith in God which tells me that if I go straight and live, both privately and officially, a righteous life, I shall succeed. My sole ambition is to have it said by one and all in India and England that His Highness is a model ruler—one who looks on methodical lines and principles of rectitude

for the welfare of his subjects."

The ideals which Narayanrao enumerated in this letter were indeed lofty, but by no means too lofty for Indore's new Chief Minister; nor did he allow them to remain only as ideals to be cherished and talked about. How did he plan that life? This is how he did it:

"My first aim will be to bring His Highness's administration in touch with His Highness's people and to make it clear that His Highness takes personal interest in their welfare and expects his Chief Minister to hear their grievances and bring them to His Highness's notice."

With his mind clearly and unmistakably made up thus, and with high hopes and with faith in God and in himself as well as in the good intentions of the Maharaja, Narayanrao accepted the post of Chief Minister. He left Bombay on April 2, 1913, with the good wishes of hundreds of his friends and admirers and took charge of his new duties on April 4. Full of the joy of having achieved his heart's desire and assured the future of his State, the Maharaja welcomed his new Chief Minister and introduced him to his people at a special Durbar he held for the purpose.

Four days later, on April 8, His Highness left for Europe for reasons of health leaving all the cares and responsibilities of the administration in Narayanrao's hands. The fact that the Maharaja should have left his State for a long absence of six months, in itself, is suggestive of the trust he reposed in Narayanrao whom he knew only by his work, and by his fame which had reached his ears. Narayanrao was fully conscious of that trust and of the difficult task that lay ahead. He knew only too well that the conditions in a Native State were not the same as in British India. In his very first reply to the enquiry whether he would accept the Maharaja's offer, he had clearly referred to the "Native State with its life of intrigue." He was, however, confident of success because he was sure of himself. He knew that if he lived, both privately and officially, a righteous life, he would succeed. But

he needed no special effort, for righteousness, uprightness and sincerity had, after a long and distinguished career in public life of over thirty years, become inseparable factors not only of his being but of his actions also, and these enabled him to find his way through the kind of situation he found around him. He moved and went on cautiously, but fearlessly. "You, Sir Narayan," a friend who knew the situation more intimately cautioned him, "have not a bed of roses and I am sure there are and will be backbiters who will try to undermine your influence." That it was not a bed of roses, Narayanrao did not have to be told, but he did not allow his mind to prejudge the situation by anticipating the presence of adversaries. Above other things he had the satisfaction that he enjoyed the Maharaja's confidence and was confident of his own ability to earn the confidence of the people whose interests were now entrusted to his care. He made a beginning of his new duties by getting to know the people and to understand their problems, difficulties and aspirations. For this, he did not depend on reports, to be conveyed orally or in writing, by subordinate officers. As he wrote,

"Every morning for one hour I went round the city, visiting the slums, noticing the sanitary conditions, talking to the people, ascertaining their wants and wishes and noting their grievances, and visiting schools."

Whenever action was deemed necessary, he took it boldly and swiftly. One morning he visited a small colony of weavers. To his grief and indignation, he found that the Municipal authorities had claimed a portion of the land on which the weavers had their houses, thus depriving them of the space they actually used for their handlooms and, in effect, their very means of subsistence, by taking possession of the portion for widening the road. The Chief Minister at once investigated the matter, and when he was convinced of the injustice that was being done to the poor weavers, he had the Municipal orders reversed to the great delight of the Maharaja as well as of the weavers themselves; for, His Highness wrote to him, referring to such measures,

"It is a matter of great pleasure, satisfaction and relief to me to see you so successfully doing your work."

About Narayanrao's daily rounds in the city, the Maharaja wrote from Europe,

"I am glad you find time to go out every morning to look to the health and sanitation of the city and try to hear complaints of the people personally which is very sound and most desirable, as personal contact with the people not only helps business but gives an idea of the real state of affairs and what is exactly wanted. It has, rightly, I believe, already made you popular among my people and this popularity must result in gaining their confidence and their welfare..... I am also glad you pay surprise visits to the different departments which must tend to maintain their efficiency."

Narayanrao frequently visited the various offices. They presented a sad state of affairs. Neither was there method of work nor was time regarded as a factor worthy of consideration. The Chief Minister, with his faith in method and quick and timely despatch as the essential factors in an efficient system of administration, made rules which put a stop to the slovenliness and confusion and introduced order and efficient management in all State Departments. Narayanrao was no expert in matters pertaining to economic, financial and commercial questions, but he knew well that on these the material prosperity of the people largely depended. He was, therefore, pained to see that industries and, in general, the commercial interests of the State were sadly neglected in all State matters. He made it a point to meet those who were in business and to discuss with them their problems with a view to understanding them and forming a proper estimate of the responsibility of the Administration to promote the commercial interests of the State. These discussions showed him the way and he knew exactly what was to be done and, what was more important, what was to be avoided. A high State Official put forward a proposal that a certain merchant may be given a loan from the State Treasury and to have as a security his lands, mansions and other property. The Chief Minister firmly put his foot down on the proposal and told His Highness in plain words that it did not behove the administration to employ the State funds thus.

After an absence of six months, the Maharaja returned to Indore on October 20. He was given a rousing welcome back home by his people. As he drove through the crowded streets, he saw joy and contentment everywhere. He told Narayanrao:

"I had never had such a reception before; it was due to your successful administration and it showed the contentment of the people."

In all matters, the Maharaja showed an anxious desire to rely entirely on his Chief Minister for he was

"very much gratified at the success of your administration. Never before had I seen my people so contented and happy. I have heard about the people being contented and happy during my grandfather's rule but, till now, I had no opportunity of witnessing and realising the happiness and contentment of my people."

The trust and confidence the Maharaja had reposed in his Chief Minister was further enhanced by experience. A necklace of precious stones which His Highness desired to purchase was priced at Rupees nine lakhs, and a lakh and a half were already paid to the merchant as an advance. Narayanrao was by no means a connoisseur in matters like precious stones, but on careful investigation, he found out that the price was exorbitant. He suspected some underhand dealing by which the price of the necklace was unduly raised to nine lakhs and that the reasonable price could not be more than three lakhs and a half. Narayanrao was firm and offered nothing more than the real price and thus saved five lakhs and a half to the State. When the Maharaja, who was at Darjeeling, came to know of the transaction, he was delighted. He sent the following telegram to Narayanrao:

"It was solely due to your efforts in the interest of the State which I have much appreciated that the State has had success in the necklace affair for which I sincerely thank you."

In his youthful enthusiasm, the Maharaja desired to give

large donations to institutions doing good work in the field of social reform. Among those was the Aryan Brotherhood of Bombay of which Narayanrao was the president. Probably, His Highness expected that his Chief Minister, whom he consulted, would be delighted to hear about his wish to give a donation of Rupees five thousand to an institution of which he was president. Narayanrao, however, advised him not to give such donations from the State funds which, he told him, were meant to be spent for the welfare of the State and its people first.

While the Chief Minister thus went on, and with his intellect, his broad outlook, with a keen imagination that sought and found the means to the happiness of the people, worked whole-heartedly and to the satisfaction of the Ruler, for that happiness which, as he felt, would establish His Highness's reputation as a model ruler, certain undercurrents were running that were leading towards a difficult situation which soon became apparent on the surface, and had it not been for the understanding that was established between His Highness and Narayanrao they would have brought about the final break earlier than it occurred. Even before Narayanrao was appointed the Chief Minister, the Maharaja had set his heart on a second marriage (with a lady of some accomplishments from Bombay). Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, gave his own opinion, apart from official implications, clearly against the marriage and had advised the Maharaja to give up the idea. Narayanrao knew of these happenings, but when he accepted the office of Chief Minister it was on the understanding that the idea was given up. The Maharaja, however, could not easily forget the affair nor was able to disengage his heart. Before he left for Europe, he wrote a long letter to the Viceroy explaining to him how his future happiness depended on the marriage and if it did not take place, not only his own well-being but even that of the State would be at stake. A copy of this letter was sent to Narayanrao from Europe. When he read it, it was

"like a bolt from the blue to me, considering that one of the grounds on which H. H. specially induced me to accept service under him was that he was anxious to promote social

reform in his State."

The Viceroy, in reply to the letter, had informed the Maharaja that there could be no legal objection to the proposed marriage except that the issue from the marriage would not be considered entitled to the right of inheritance as far as the State was concerned. His Excellency, however, advised him to consult his friends, the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikaner, and the 'high-minded statesman' he had appointed as his Chief Minister. Narayanrao also told the Maharaja that he could see "no objection in point of law to the marriage," but he certainly looked upon it as a serious violation of the principles of reform and therefore he would strongly advise the Maharaja against the marriage. Narayanrao gave earnest thought to the implications of the marriage as far as his own position was concerned and concluded that the marriage was the Maharaja's private affair and so long as he had the freedom to make his own opinion about the marriage clearly known, it would not affect his official position. The marriage took place on December 8, but with the Maharaja's permission, Narayanrao left for Bombay two or three days before and stayed away till the marriage festivities were over.

For a time, things went on smoothly and the relations between the Maharaja and the Chief Minister were apparently unaffected. There were, however, other factors which had remained underground for some time but gradually began to make their appearance on the surface. During the next few months, Narayanrao's peace of mind was seriously disturbed on account of his wife's serious illness which made it necessary for her to be removed to Bombay. Narayanrao remained in Indore and at his post. In January of 1914, the Maharaja thought of going on a tour in the State and the details of his programme were drawn up without the Chief Minister's knowledge. There was apparently no reason why it should have been so, and the Chief Minister pointed out to the Maharaja that what had happened was contrary to official procedure and therefore was an unwise step from the point of view of the relations between themselves and also of the admini-

stration of the State. This was, however, the first dark cloud that appeared in the sky which was till then maintained clear. To Narayanrao, signs became gradually clear of the gathering storm. There were suppressed whispers which he could hear and the working of the hand of jealousy beneath the surface which he could perceive. Things came to a head with the Maharaja's serious illness in the month of August. Dr. R. Row, the famous physician in Bombay was called, and the Resident bestowed personal attention on the measures that were being taken for the Maharaja's speedy recovery. Major Smith who was recommended by him was in charge. During the illness, no visitor was allowed to see the Maharaja—not even his Chief Minister. As day followed day and the illness threatened to be a prolonged one, neither the Resident nor the Chief Minister knew what arrangements were proposed for the administration during the illness of the Maharaja who was evidently too ill to attend to the affairs of the State personally. In the meantime, a change—apparently casual and insignificant—was effected in the nurses who were in attendance on the patient; it was given out that the Maharaja did not like the night-nurse. She was engaged on the recommendation of Major Smith. Another who had attended on the Maharani during her illness a few days before was preferred. Major Smith reluctantly approved of the change. The Resident and the Chief Minister felt increasingly concerned about the affairs of the State and there appeared to be no chance of seeing the Maharaja. On August 20, at 7-30 in the evening, Narayanrao made enquiries at the Palace and was informed that His Highness was still not in a condition to receive visitors. He was, therefore, surprised to receive an intimation from the Private Secretary to His Highness only two days later that the Maharaja had expressed a desire to see the Chief Minister at 5 O'clock in the evening. Narayanrao went to the Palace at the appointed hour and was taken to the sick room. He saw that several others, including members of the State Council, also were summoned, and the two Maharanis also had taken their seats on the left of the Maharaja's bed. Addressing the Chief Minister, the Maharaja said that his restoration to normal health would take some time and, therefore, he had decided to delegate all powers to the

Senior Maharani assisted by a Council. After saying this, the Maharaja handed over to Narayanrao an envelope. He read the contents and passed on the paper to the other officials present, but before they started reading, they were all asked to go downstairs and read it there.

The facts of the whole episode were too apparent to be missed or mistaken. For several days, Narayanrao was not allowed to see the ailing Maharaja although, as his Chief Minister, it was very necessary that he should be in touch with the Maharaja even during his illness. On the 20th, he was told that the Maharaja was still not in a condition to receive the Chief Minister and only two days later he was summoned and was told by the Maharaja about his decision to entrust the affairs of the State to the Senior Maharani. The decision was taken without the knowledge of the Chief Minister and came as a surprise to the Resident. The Resident sought enlightenment on the circumstances, and those who had access to the Maharaja's sick bed and to the working of his mind gave him conflicting reports. The Chief Minister had no doubts regarding the future course of action as far as he was concerned. The Maharaja had gone back on his word that in every State matter he would be consulted by His Highness beforehand and that no order of his should be made without previous consultation with the Chief Minister. In these circumstances, Narayanrao told the Resident, he had decided to tender his resignation and, thereafter, ceased taking any part in the administration. The Resident reported the matter to the Government of India. The Maharaja's order delegating the powers to the Senior Maharani were set aside by the Government of India who ordered that the Chief Minister, and not the Maharani, should be temporarily vested with the powers which belonged to the head of the State during the latter's illness.

The Maharaja was penitent, and on September 4, he confessed to Narayanrao:

"I regret I have done a wrong by not taking your advice before passing my order. I ought to have consulted you and

you will, I hope, excuse me."

He told him further, at the same interview:

"I have given you my full trust."

Narayanrao accepted the confession and the assurance which, he knew, were made in good faith, but he had also found out that beneath the words uttered by the Maharaja there was something deeper which indicated that the Maharaja was not the master of his own actions. Events moved fast, and showed that the breach was too deep and serious to be repaired even by the confessions and the good intentions of the Maharaja. His Highness was misled to believe that it was Narayanrao who had brought about the reversal of his order. Other things calculated to poison his mind further were invented. He was told that Narayanrao had refused to pay charges for the consumption of electricity and about the insulting treatment the Accountant General had received at his hands. When that officer was requested by Narayanrao to state the facts, he said:

"I never referred this case to you and there was no occasion for it. The matter was under correspondence between my office and the House Department. I have always had the honour of receiving most courteous treatment at your hands and I know of no case in which you ever showed annoyance, what to speak of insulting me.

"I may be permitted to remark here that on the occasion of your tours in the State last year you did not draw any travelling allowance to which you were entitled under the rules."

It was now clear that the circumstances had taken a turn which made it impossible for Narayanrao—for any person with the least sense of self-respect and a respect for straightforward dealing in him—to stay any longer in Indore and to continue in the office which had never been a bed of roses for him. He told the Maharaja so and the Maharaja also saw that it did not lie in his hands to persuade his Chief Minister to stay. He said:

"Sir Narayan, I recognise you have worked very hard and I know what it is to lose you. I know how much I would gain by your presence here."

Before Narayanrao left Indore for good, he had a farewell meeting with the Maharaja.

"But, Sir Narayan," said the Maharaja with sorrow in his voice, "I hope when we part we shall part as friends and remain friends."

"I have been a friend of yours ever since I came here." replied Sir Narayan, "I will always be friendly. I shall always wish well of you and pray to God that He keep you out of harm's way. I have no feelings of resentment. I have endeavoured to the best of my powers, since I came here, to be unsparing in my work. I have toiled night and day and never shirked work and responsibility. I remained at my post even when my wife lay seriously ill in Bombay and you know when you brought me here against my will I came because you specially wanted me and you thought I would make a model ruler of you. But, however, God has made it otherwise. Therefore I part from you as friend."

"Good-bye, Sir Narayan. You assure me that we part as friends?"

XI

The University

In 1902, Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, appointed the Indian Universities Commission to enquire into the working of the Universities in India and to make proposals for reforms. The Rev. Dr. Mackichan, Principal of the Wilson College, who was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay at the time, was a member of the Commission, and during the Commission's visit to Bombay (February 28 to March 7, 1902) Narayanrao was appointed as an additional member. When the Commission's report was published and circulated, the Senate of the University of Bombay approached it with a critical, almost unkind, mind and expressed its disapproval of several of its proposals. Ultimately, a Bill was placed before the Central Legislative Council, and the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed. Lord Curzon, who had all along evinced a keen personal interest in the progress of the Commission's work, the introduction of the Bill and the passing of the Act, claimed that the new Act would instil new life into the working of the Universities in the country. The claim was not unreasonably made. It was later admitted by the Senate of the Bombay University that

"Until the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, which revised the powers of the Indian Universities, the Bombay University, like the others, was limited to the function of examining candidates and arranging for the courses of study which led up to their degrees."***

The Commission's Report had stated that "In a rightly governed University, examination is subordinate to teaching; in India, teaching has been made subsidiary to examination." The Act broadly accepted this view and the Commission's recommendations which were based on it. In accordance with

***The Calendar of the Bombay University for 1921-22 and 1922-23 Volume I, Page 705.

the provisions of the Act, the Universities were required to extend the scope of its responsibilities to include the more direct function of teaching. The Senate of the Bombay University considered proposals and adopted several of them during the course of the next few years. First as a Fellow of the Senate, and later, as Vice-Chancellor of the University since 1909, Narayanrao took a prominent part and an active interest in the deliberations of the Senate. He was in general agreement with the principles and provisions of the Act of 1904 and with most of its provisions, and he endeavoured to have them incorporated in the working of the Bombay University. About this time, the Government of Bombay made provision for an annual grant of Rupees ten thousand to enable the University to give a travelling allowance to the Fellows of the Senate. This measure resulted in a larger attendance at the meetings of the Senate, and members of the Senate began to take a more active and closer interest in the work of the Senate than before.

A few years after the Act of 1904 was passed, Sir George Clarke (Lord Sydenham) came out as Governor of Bombay. He brought with him considerable knowledge of the working of Universities and a mind full of lively interest in educational matters. On December 18, 1908, the Government wrote a letter to the University. It was in the nature of a reply to a request from the Senate seeking the Chancellor's advice regarding changes in the curriculum. It was stated in the letter that in order to bring the teaching in Colleges into harmony with modern requirements, it would be necessary to introduce radical reforms. The letter stated that "there were too many examinations and too many subjects in certain cases, that there was no proper division into well-ordered courses and rational continuity of study, and that consequently, there had been a marked want of thoroughness." The letter regretted the fact that "with too few exceptions, the University had not produced graduates who had evinced capacity for original work in the various branches of knowledge."

This letter was received when Dr. Selby was the Vice-Chancellor, but soon after, Narayanrao was appointed to that

office, and the proposals made in the letter were discussed by the Senate during his Vice-Chancellorship. These proposals were: the abolition of the Matriculation and the Previous Examinations and their replacement by College examinations; the curtailment of the compulsory and the enlargement of the number of optional subjects; and a general revision of the courses and subjects for the various University examinations. In March 1909, the Senate appointed a Committee for considering and reporting on these proposals. The Committee, after thirteen sittings, submitted its report. It was not a unanimous report. Six of the members had signed it, while the dissenting minute had seven signatures.

The courses of study which were in vogue at the time were framed in 1891. The principle which governed those courses was defined by Mr. Justice Telang, who was one of the four persons who framed them, in the following words:

“A B. A. cannot be and ought not to be expected to be a master of any particular subject and an authority upon it immediately after his graduation. A B.A. should, I think, be a man who has had the general cultivation which ought to be the basis of all special cultivation.”

The seven gentlemen (they were Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar—the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Sharpe, Principal Covern-ton, Dr. Mann, Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Prof. Rajwade and Col. Street) who signed the Minute of Dissent stated that the principle which governed the framing of the old courses of studies had become out-dated and that what was required at that time was a special study of a few subjects. In particular, they supported Sir George Clarke's suggestion, which was originally put forward by Lord Curzon in 1903, that History and Political Economy should be excluded from the Compulsory Arts Course and should be included in the courses of studies for B. A. as one of the optional groups of subjects. This suggestion became a subject of controversy, but the battle that ensued was more on the principle of non-interference in the work of the Senate by the Governor than on any detailed proposal. On January 15, 1910, the Com-

mittee's report came up for discussion before the Senate. Narayanrao presided over the meeting. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta moved that the letter from the Government and the Committee's recommendations be recorded. He strongly criticised the Government's attitude as it was reflected in the letter and condemned its interference in the Senate's work. He put forward the plea that for the integrity of the University and its independence, it was necessary that proposals for reform, if any, should come from members of the Senate and the Senate should send them to the Governor-in-Council for sanction. Sir Pherozeshah's motion for recording the letter from the Government and the Committee's report was carried. He won his point also on the proposition regarding the Matriculation Examination which he sought to retain. The next stage in the battle was the discussion over the question of revising the Arts Courses. Government's view regarding the study of English History, Political and Constitutional, was that it was

"necessarily advantageous if time and adequate teaching power are available; but they are impressed with the extreme undesirability of enforcing it on all Arts students."

At a meeting of the Senate held on July 17, 1911, Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, moved that English History be dropped from the list of compulsory subjects. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta vehemently opposed the proposed change and made a vigorous speech. Mr. Natarajan's proposal was carried after a considerable amount of heated discussion by 41 against 37. A few months later, Sir Pherozeshah tried to reopen the subject and when the revised rules for the B. A. Examination were placed before the Senate, he moved an amendment stating that English History be included in the compulsory group. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor, ruled the amendment out of order. Sir Pherozeshah desired to address the meeting on the point of order, but the Vice-Chancellor declined to allow him to address. The ruling gave rise to bitterness and, at one time, the controversy almost assumed a personal aspect. Sir Pherozeshah was determined to pursue the matter further. On

July 2, 1912, he moved for the appointment of a Committee for having the regulations of the University with regard to the conduct of business revised. The discussion on Sir Pherozechah's motion took an unpleasant turn. Personal motives and obstructive tactics were attributed from one side and lack of due consideration and regard from the other. Sir Pherozechah assured the members of the Senate that he had been actuated by honest and conscientious motives, and said that he had always admitted that the Vice-Chancellor, whether he agreed with him or differed from him, had endeavoured to do what he considered to be his own duty. The proposition was carried by 38 votes to 30. The revised rule concerning a point of order laid down that "Besides stating the precise point of order raised, he shall not make a speech." It is clear, therefore, that even the revised regulation was in consonance with the ruling that was given by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Fortunately, the controversy did not leave any bitterness behind. As the biographer of Sir Pherozechah has said, this was "due to the dignified and conciliatory tone of Pherozechah's speech in reply and to the admirable temper preserved by the Vice-Chancellor."***

Narayanrao was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay for nearly four years. He resigned from that office in August 1912. During his regime as Vice-Chancellor, a great many changes were introduced in the working of the University. These included the far-reaching changes in the courses of studies for the B.A. and B.Sc. examinations; the imposing building for the Royal Institute of Science was constructed; the ground was prepared for the introduction of a course of studies for a degree in Commerce (B. Com.); improvements were made in the courses of studies in Medicine and Agriculture.

Shortly after Narayanrao's death in 1923, the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee to examine and report on the working of the University with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University at the time, as Chairman. In its report, the Committee observed:

***Life of Pherozechah Mehta by H. P. Mody, Volume, II, P. 588.

“During the last ten years, the conception of the University has changed. The ideal of a corporate body of teachers and students co-operating in the culture of the mind and the pursuit of knowledge has taken possession of men’s minds and the University has steadily moved towards the realisation of the ideal.”

The period of ten years referred to in the report is the period immediately following the period of Narayanrao’s Vice-Chancellorship during which a good many proposals for reforming the functions of the University were considered and many of them were accepted. It cannot be denied that the driving force for the reforms which were introduced during that period was provided by Sir George Clarke, and the Vice-Chancellor had welcomed His Excellency’s proposals as sincere and conducive to the improvement of the University. The observation of the Setalvad Committee’s report, therefore, is, in essence, a statement of the fact that after the dust of the controversy which had risen over Sir George Clarke’s proposals had settled down, it was at last recognised that those proposals had resulted in a change in the conception of the University for the better.

A Vice-Chancellor’s approach to the various academic problems of the University is very often best reflected in his Convocation addresses. Narayanrao, during his regime, delivered three Convocation addresses. In the first one which he delivered in 1909, he began with a historical survey of the rise and progress of the University. He referred to the three principal landmarks in its history. Sir Alexander Grant was one of those who directed the destinies of the University in the earliest years of its career when the ideal of University training was borrowed from a saying of the old Edinburgh reviewers that liberal education consisted in knowing something of everything and everything of something. In accordance with that view, the curriculum in Arts was arranged, and one principal feature of that curriculum was that, alone among the Indian Universities of that time, the University of Bombay insisted upon a classical language as a compulsory subject for the Arts examinations. As the Vice-

Chancellor pointed out, this feature "gave an impetus to the study of oriental literature, especially Sanskrit.....the result of which has been far-reaching and of immense value." During the next stage, Science was given a distinct place in the Arts Curriculum, and the third stage was reached when, with a view to checking the growing tendency towards wild talk and writing, which was evidently the result of an absence of true historical perspective among the young men, the study of history and political economy was made compulsory in the course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

At that time the complaints that were frequently heard were that the system of education imparted under the auspices of the University hardly contributed to the growth of true culture and character and that it created in the minds of the young men no ambition higher and healthier than that of seeking jobs under Government. Narayanrao admitted that while it was not unnatural for the young graduate to seek Government service, it was recognised by nearly all that liberal education has higher ends than that. He called the age (in which they lived) the age of the "newspaper" which Lord Morley described in one of his Essays as the "huge engine for keeping discussion at a low level and making the political test final." The age taught the people "to read fast and to think fast—which was no thinking at all....." Narayanrao advocated the adoption of what he called "common-sense" methods in the education and training of the young men, and one of these was that it was "for the good of the State and for the good of the Society to see that educational agencies are rigorously kept sacred from outside influences by whatever name they are called and that a certain strict detachment and isolation marks them, if our youth are to be good citizens, great scholars, men of culture and character." In support of his suggestion, he quoted the voice of history which proclaimed that "Social cohesion is born of lonely dignity of soul." and went on to point out that great men like Buddha and Shankaracharya, Christ and St. Paul, began in loneliness and they later became the founders of communities.

In his second Convocation address (1910), Narayanrao

referred to the general tendency "to hold school-masters and professors and the system of education responsible for the slackness of discipline, want of self-control and decay of the reverential spirit among the men of the present time. He did not agree with this view. He said:

"But it is forgotten that the school and the college are not the only world in which the young men move, learn, imbibe ideas and influences; that the home and the community are schools in their own way—educational factors in the growth of young men."

As a remedy, Narayanrao advocated the ancient ideal of *Acharya* which characterised the life of a *Shishya*, propounded by Baudhayana, one of the ancient sages of Hinduism. A *Shishya* means a man of culture in the widest sense of the term, and his *acharya* or conduct consisted of freedom from envy, jealousy and self-conceit, a life of simplicity, self-control and a total absence of insincerity, pride or anger. This seems, Narayanrao said, a commonplace, but it had in it the moulding of the Hindu thought and life in ancient times which generally were free from all that was low and from blame or taint. Regulation of the daily conduct was all that was needed, for, if the daily conduct was properly guided, the general life and routine would take care of themselves.

To the young graduates who were about to enter the world of active life, he gave advice which was practical as well as inspiring. He ended his second Convocation address with the following peroration:

"I am not an idolator, but I believe in the sight and inspiration of a symbol when it typifies a lesson either of beauty or of beneficence. No sight in Bombay—and we have many beautiful sights in this dear old city of ours, whether produced by Nature or made by man—fills the mind with reverence and encourages it to aspire high better than this University with its modest buildings and lofty tower. As I gaze upon them, I feel I am in the presence of a Mother whose eyes are turned towards heaven above, but whose feet are planted

deep in earth below—a picture of purity, steadiness and sobriety—conveying to us all, like the face of the lady that Rosetti loved, “the meaning of things that are.”⁶ Here is a call to us from our *Alma Mater* to live our lives nobly—not indeed to remake the world, for we have not made it, but to make absolute best of what we are by diligence and devotion to all that is pure and lovely.”

XII

“Masters of my Country’s Future”

In 1908, the Government of Bombay issued a resolution (No. 2395 of 30-9-1908) on the subject of discipline in schools. This resolution was subjected to a good deal of criticism in the Press. Even those who conceded that want of proper discipline in schools or colleges was a crying evil of those times and also recognised that the evil called for serious thought, saw in the Government Resolution a deliberate act of repression, and expressed their fear that the Resolution, if and when given effect to, would only turn the young men into slaves. Among those who gave their careful thought to the Government Resolution and wrote on it was one to whom the question which the resolution dealt with was far too important to be dismissed with negative or destructive criticism. To the *Times of India* of Monday, November 2, 1908, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar contributed an article which, though among the less known writings of his, is remarkable for its earnestness of thought and its analytical survey of the tendencies discernible among youngsters which are too often characterised by elders as indiscipline and irreverence. Even assuming that students do betray a tendency to be irreverent and disorderly in their behaviour, the real task before the elders is not just to condemn them but to deal with them tactfully and sympathetically so as to detect the root causes with a view to removing them. In his article entitled “India of the Future”, Narayanrao with the wisdom and compassion that was roused most profoundly whenever he meditated on the students and their place in life as the future citizens of India, examined the problems in all its aspects. The historical method so prominent in all his utterances and writings was applied to this problem also. He pondered over the problem of discipline among students, and dwelt at length on the ancient institution of the Guru to which reference was made in the G. R. As he wrote, “Implicit obedience was required on the part of the pupil as the first condition of the

existence and continuance of the relations between the pupil and his Guru.”** He pointed out that “a spirit of obedience, however, was roused not by fear of the teacher so much as by love and that love was awakened by the idea incessantly instilled into the mind of the pupil that he and his teacher formed a kind of partnership,” in which the teacher was indeed the predominant partner, but with the interests more or less identical, and requiring, therefore, in the intercourse between the two, mutual good feeling. It was to emphasise this point and keep the idea growing out of it ever before the eyes of both that they were required to chant together daily a hymn, invoking God to protect them both, to give them both to enjoy, to enable them both to attain efficiency and to make their study—not the study of the pupil singled out—effective. And that hymn concluded with the prayer “Hate may we not (each other) at all ”

This ideal of the “Guru” and his pupil was emphasised in the Government Resolution. It had become the source of inspiration to the Board of Education which was organised in the thirties of the last century by the East India Company, for the first question the Board took up was the training of young men to be efficient teachers and headmasters. The Board realised the urgent need for this measure for, to quote their words, “it became every year more apparent that if our system was to prove beneficial by developing the intellectual faculties, by disciplining the moral powers, and by cultivating a sound judgment without which education is scarcely worth the name, minds better disciplined and better stored than those of many of our existing teachers must be brought to bear upon our schools.”† One of the first products of the Board’s efforts in this direction was Bal Shastri Jambhekar, a highly talented man, a scholar of Sanskrit, English and Mathematics, who, after his career at the Elphinstone Institution, was not only appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics, History and English literature, but was entrusted with the task of training a number of young men as school-masters. At Bal Shastri’s suggestion, the Board established a Normal

**Speeches and Writings—Page 367.

†Speeches and Writings—Page 369.

school in Bombay, and Bal Shastri himself selected forty young men from the different parts of the Presidency—Gujaratis, Deccanis, and Kannadas. He lived with them in a house which was rented at Kalbadevi. He strove by example as well as by precept to give the young men the training that was necessary to make them efficient teachers. This laudable scheme received a serious set-back on account of Bal Shastri's death at the young age of 35, but fortunately, the set-back was only a temporary one. Evidently, the Board of Education was determined to go on with the scheme which was, before long, taken up by educationists like Harkness, Patton and Reid, all belonging to the Elphinstone Institution, and Major Candy of the Poona College. Among those who were trained by these, were school-masters and head-masters like Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Vaman Abaji Modak, Vinayak Janardan Kirtane, Trimbak Narayan Kirtane and Shivrām Bhiktji Jathar. Narayanrao, in his article, spoke of these teachers as "men of grit, learned and disciplined," who took up the profession because they loved it. In those days, as Narayanrao pointed out, the headmaster of a school in the mofussil, because of his learning and culture, was looked upon by the people with greater respect than was bestowed on any Indian District officer like a Mamlatdar or a sub-judge. The teacher, like his ancient counterpart, the Guru, exercised a sober and wholesome influence not only over his pupils but also over the society.

A change which was in the nature of a fall from the high ideal came not long afterwards. The teacher's job ceased to be looked upon as a vocation by those who accepted it. The Revenue and Subordinate Judicial Services attracted young and ambitious minds in schools and colleges, and many of those who entered the teaching profession looked upon it as, to quote Narayanrao's words, "a perching place", for they served as teachers till they obtained the degree of LL.B. and could get jobs in the Judicial Service or became pleaders. A laxity of discipline also set in in schools. Half-digested ideas borrowed from Darwin and Mill became the basis of the thought and reasoning of most of the students. The school-master who had fallen from the high ideal that was establish-

ed by teachers like Bhandarkar and Modak, did not look upon it as a matter of concern for himself as to how his pupils behaved or what they did. Narayanrao recalled his own experience as a school boy—about the years 1865-70. There were opportunities for hearing great orators like Keshab Chandra Sen who visited Bombay. The impressions of those times on young minds were not unmixed for, as he confessed elsewhere, "But to us, young men, calmness and dignity did not prove attractive. Young as we were, we wanted something "spicy" and sensational and personal."*

Examining the background of the Government Resolution (No. 2395—Educational Department) of October 8, 1908, one cannot fail to be struck by the political atmosphere of those days which was surcharged to some extent with a spirit of lawlessness. As Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya stated in his history of the Indian National Congress, "the first serious agitation in the history of the Congress spread over the five long years—1906-1911, and was attended with a measure of repression considered barbarous at the time, leading to reaction in the out-break of violence of a sporadic character."** Those were the years that followed the Partition of Bengal which created an unprecedented awakening in the country and also roused a spirit of violence and lawlessness in hot-blooded youth. To those years belong such happenings as the dropping of bombs at Muzaffarpore which fell on two ladies, the Kennedys, but were really meant for Mr. Kingsford, the District Judge. This took place on 30-4-1908. Khudiram Bose, a young man of 18, was executed for the act. Bhupendranath Datta, brother of Swami Vivekananda, preached violence through the columns of *Ugantar* of which he was the editor. He was arrested, tried and given a long sentence. To the Magistrate who tried him he declared that although he was removed from the scene, there were 300 million editors to take his place. Aurobindo's prosecution for sedition in 'Bande Mataram,' and Bal Gangadhar Tilak's famous trial which ended in a sentence of transportation of six years for him also belong to this period. It also saw spo-

*Speeches and Writings—Page 372.

**History of the Congress—Page 101.

radic murders—that of Sir Curzon Wylie of London by Madanlal Dhingra (1909) and of Jackson at Nasik by Kanhere. These events, provocative and heart-stirring as they were, could not but have filled the minds of students in schools and colleges with unrest and agitation. As Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale confessed while speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council during a debate on the Seditious Meetings Bill (which, along with other Bills of a similar character, was in due course passed into an Act), the young men were getting out of hand, and that they, the elders, could not be blamed if they could not control the youth. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Government of Bombay felt vitally concerned over the state of affairs which to a government was nothing less than lawlessness. Government expressed its concern by referring to "the relaxation of discipline and a lowering of standard of manners in schools and colleges," and "flagrant offences against school rules." The Government Resolution, however, made no secret of the fact that "the laxity of discipline in some measure is due to a tendency in students to associate themselves with public demonstrations."

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar did not hastily dismiss the Government Resolution merely as a measure for "the putting down of the spirit of sedition and the taming down of our young men into tools of blind submission." He believed in "fostering among our young men a spirit of the healthy love of country and its institutions, becoming, not wild, but self-respecting and reverent independence." He felt keenly that "much of the spirit of what passes for patriotism among our young men is what Mr. Robert Buchanan some years ago in criticising Mr. Rudyard Kipling described as the 'Hooligan spirit of patriotism.'" In the years that followed, it became Narayanrao's chief concern to wean the minds of young men from those influences which fostered in them the "Hooligan spirit of patriotism", and kindle in them the right spirit of healthy love of country, of reverence, of obedience which alone would later enable them to be leaders, and of duty to the society, mainly through the programmes and activities of two organisations, the Bombay Students' Brotherhood and the Social Service League. His deep and vital interest in the

welfare and healthy mental growth of students are, however, to be traced to those years of his early manhood in 1885-86. In 1885, when he visited England as one of the three delegates to plead India's case before the English people, he happened to spend a few days in Cambridge. In the memorable address he delivered at the Elphinstone College in 1910 on "Old Elphinstonians", he recalled his visit to Cambridge, and particularly the following incident which evidently left a deep and lasting impression on his own mind:

"Twenty-five years ago when I was in England, I happened to spend a few days in Cambridge, visiting its colleges and, at one of them, I met on a Saturday afternoon one of the Cabinet Ministers of the time, moving among its students in its Library Room. That was Sir George Otto Trevelyan, nephew of Lord Macaulay, and author of that very instructive and interesting book, "Life and Letters of Macaulay." Having been introduced to him on the occasion, I took the liberty of asking him how, while the General Elections were going on and the country was one scene of political excitement, he had found time to be there. He told me that often he wished to forget the worries of parliamentary life and political warfare, and it was his practice to run up to his old College, revive old memories and seek mental repose by friendly converse with its young students. 'It is a good thing to do for a busy man, it makes life look so fresh, does it not?' "*"

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was a busy man; his life was crowded with multifarious duties and activities. In later life, he was called upon to fill positions of high and onerous responsibilities as Judge of the High Court, Vice-Chancellor of the University, Chief Minister of Indore and President of the first Legislative Council under the Reforms Act of 1919. Even in those late eighties of the last century, he was busy. Apart from his work at the Bar, he took interest in journalism as editor of *Indu Prakash*, and also in politics and in social reform. As a busy man, therefore, he must have probably learnt from Sir George Otto Trevelyan whom he casually met in Cambridge, that it was a good thing for a busy man "to

*Speeches and Writings—P. 410.

seek mental repose by friendly converse with young students", for it made life look so fresh. We find him practising that lesson from 1886 onward. During that year he began a remarkable series of talks to students under the auspices of the Wilson College Literary Society, and his first talk was on "The Responsibilities of Students." It was in this address that he called young men "masters of my country's future." "And who else are the masters of India's future" he asked, "but the large numbers of young men who are now attending our schools and colleges—those, I say, the bright and beaming faces of some of whom I see before me?"** This address was delivered shortly after he returned from England. With the impressions of the visit so fresh on his mind, it was natural for him to refer to what he described as "the most striking historical fact of the age in which we live." It was the contact which was established between India and "a nation whose history, though more modern than ours, has been a history of steady and careful progress." The message, also reminiscent of the visit, which he gave to his young friends on the occasion may be summed up in the following passage taken from the address:

"It is said of the English nation that whenever anything goes wrong, they at once cry out, "What a shame!" In India, on the other hand, whenever anything goes wrong, the people are known to say, "Can't help it. This is our fate!" The religious faith of the people and the caste system have for ages taught them that they are the victims of Fate and are not masters of their own circumstances. It is this belief that has ingrained itself in the national character and which has to be destroyed before you can expect the people to be elevated. Political activity, political agitations are certainly good. They have their value and I do not for one moment mean to ignore their value. But what we do with one hand, let us not undo with the other. Let not the principle of elevation which we try to infuse into our people by means of our political activities and the National Congress, be allowed to be counter-acted by the principle of fatalism which our

present religious beliefs teach them. Let us reform and correct the latter so that our political activities may be helped and supported instead of being opposed by them."† •

The high hopes which Narayanrao always entertained in his mind about the students and young men and women, the trust he placed in them, their abilities and their aspirations and capacity to toil,—these were the products of a close observation and study of their tendencies, their movements and their speech. He found great possibilities in the inherent buoyancy they displayed—sometimes in their thoughtless and impatient acts. He was not worried about such acts. He liked, as he said, a young man who was not a slave, who exercised, even though a little foolishly, his own judgment. This attitude of confidence and perfect understanding towards the young men was displayed by no leader of his time as much as Narayanrao displayed it. He liked to be among the young men for he liked their independent spirit. It was his faith that, properly guided, the young men would be masters of their country's future in the true sense of the word. He was grieved to hear the charge, often thoughtlessly levelled against the young men, that they were godless. As he said in his first Convocation address, he did not agree with those who called the young men godless. It was true, he said, that a wave of agnosticism and atheism, materialistic in its character and unsettling in its effects, passed over the earlier generation of the graduates of the University, but that was due to ideas borrowed from the writings of Mill and Spencer and the effects were bound to be superficial and temporary. He advocated the adoption of commonsense methods in the education and training of the young men in order to give them the right attitude towards life and the correct understanding of their duties and responsibilities—and also of their rights. If the young men were found to go astray and to act foolishly and rashly, the fault was that of the elders and the teachers. He therefore gladly accepted the task of giving the young men the guidance they needed. He did so by meeting them frequently and addressing gatherings of students.

†Speeches and Writings—Page 177.

The words Narayanrao uttered on various occasions and his numerous addresses to young men and college students were not empty words. That they did make an impression which was found to be lasting and fruitful, can be proved by at least two remarkable instances. The late Prof. N. G. Welinkar was a student of Wilson College in 1886 and was one of those who heard Narayanrao's address on "Responsibilities of Students" under the auspices of the Wilson College Literary Society. It created in his mind an awakening. It set him thinking forcibly on his own responsibilities and those of his friends—students of the time. He started a class for students in 1889. Before long, it grew into a pioneer institution which catered for the intellectual and spiritual needs of the rising generation. This institution which was founded by the late Prof. Welinkar came to be known as the Students' Brotherhood, and for many years, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was not only its president, but its most revered guide, friend and philosopher. Another address of his which was delivered (probably in Madras) about the same time, gave inspiration to the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the illustrious founder and first editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad, and one of the leaders of the liberal school of thought. Sir C. Y. Chintamani publicly acknowledged this debt of gratitude in an address which he delivered in Bombay before a gathering of students in 1924.

The Manoranjak Granth Prasarak Mandali of Bombay published in 1911 a collection of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speeches and writings. The most illuminating section of this collection is that which contains his addresses to students spread over a period of more than 25 years. All these addresses are striking for their deep sincerity and the anxiety regarding the growth of young men and women into citizens. He exhorted them "to lead good and pure lives; lives that make no distinction between seeming and being, but inspire us to virtue, charity, faith and love and lead us ever to build our own well-being on our own moral strength and on the well-being of those about us."

Narayanrao attached great importance to study and studi-

ous habits. He not only emphasised their importance in the lives of young men and students, but he believed in "the oft-quoted aphorism that a man's real education is that which he gives himself after he has left the school and college." For this purpose he chose as the theme of one of his addresses (delivered on August 27, 1900) "Mr. Justice Telang as a student," and gave a very interesting account of Justice Telang's habits of study which were a key to his (Mr. Telang's) greatness and goodness. This address has not lost its freshness and any one who aspires to be a scholar, a precise thinker, to attain clearness of thought and a fairness of controversy, to subject himself to a mental discipline that regulates life in all its departments, "to be thoughtful, to be fair, to be reverential, and above all, to be pure," may with profit read, mentally digest and adopt as his own habits, the various practical lessons which Narayanrao culled from Mr. Telang's career as a life-long student and scholar. Narayanrao held out this career as a model before students for he believed Mr. Telang "was a cultured man because he was a true student." That in his own life and aspirations Narayanrao had translated Mr. Telang's shining example was evident from his own distinguished career as a lawyer and judge and from the products of his own continuous study which he freely placed at the disposal of the members of the Students' Brotherhood and the young men and women of Bombay in general. For over 10 years, Sir Narayan conducted study-circles and classes for students under the auspices of the Brotherhood of which he was President. From 1909 to 1912 he expounded to them Wordsworth's *Prelude*, and then he took up for similar discourses Tennyson's *'In Memoriam'*. These discourses were much more than literary discussions. They embodied what Narayanrao had learnt from his own experiences, lessons for a good and pure life. The rich and abiding work he accomplished through these literary efforts is aptly described in the following words which are taken from the address which was given to him by the members of the Brotherhood on the eve of his departure in 1913 for Indore to take up the duties of Chief Minister of that state:

"You associated yourself with the Brotherhood when its

work was in its beginning and you gave it an impetus and a new life which have enabled it to extend its influence and the scope of its usefulness. As a scholar and above all as a lover of English poetical literature you have endeavoured successfully to inspire in us a genuine love of culture and particularly a taste for poetry.

"In your private life, you have manifested the spirit of brotherhood in a way more effective than preaching could have done. Further, as a scholar, and as a true-hearted Social Reformer, interested by genuine sympathy in the lives and destinies of the future citizens of this city and this country, you have presented to us a living example of the ideals that should guide a Brotherhood of Students."

If further testimony is needed to show how Narayanrao became, throughout his life, a true guide and wise counsellor of youth, it is to be sought in the lives of the young men and women of those times who bore and carried for ever afterwards an indelible impression of his teachings—of his example and lofty character more than his teachings. There were hundreds, perhaps thousands, of them, and they remembered ever afterwards the debt of gratitude they owed to Narayanrao. One of these was a pleader from Akola, Mr. N. K. Phadke. Mr. Phadke had not had the opportunity of listening to Narayanrao's discourses on Wordsworth, but afterwards he chanced to lay his hand at a Bookseller's in Bombay (Radhabai Atmaram Sagoon) on a copy of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's discourses on Wordsworth's Prelude. He purchased it and read it, first out of mere curiosity, and once again, with the original poem, because his interest was roused. This happened in 1914. Mr. Phadke had an intense desire to meet the author and express to him in person his gratitude for the lasting benefits he had derived. He then thought of writing to him. He waited for two years for an opportunity and then, in 1916, wrote a letter.

"My impressions about you are fast changing;" he wrote, "from dislike I have begun to like you, admire you and revere you. My life's joy your pamphlet has awakened in the deep-

est manner, and I am so thankful to you that I have been thinking these two years of writing to you. Now I make bold and express my cordial gratitude for opening to me a temple of blessings unknown in life before."

Narayanrao expressed to Mr. Phadke his warm thanks, and offered the following advice:

"If with Wordsworth and Browning, you combine Dnyaneshwari and Ekanathi Bhagwat, you read all you want to turn life from a burden into a blessing."

Another student, Framroz J. Mithalji, regularly attended the study circles which Narayanrao conducted in the Prarthana Mandir. What he heard at those meetings roused in him a love for nature and natural surroundings. He, therefore, decided to take up agriculture as a career and joined the Agricultural College. When Narayanrao learnt about this, he wrote to Mr. Methalji:

"I am so glad to know for the first time that it was my exposition of Wordsworth's Prelude from 1909 to 1912 which strengthened your love of natural scenery and nature.... I congratulate myself on the fact that I did not expound the Prelude in vain and there has been at least one who found the exposition helpful in forming his aim and ideal of life."

In the years that followed the countrywide agitation created by the partition of Bengal, to which reference has already been made, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar devoted his close attention and energies to the mental and moral progress of the young men who, in the words of G. K. Gokhale which have already been quoted, "were getting out of hand." Narayanrao did not, like Mr. Gokhale, think that "they, the elders, could not be blamed if they could not control the youth." He was an optimist, and his faith in "the masters of my country's future" was unshaken and unshakable. In his article on the Government Resolution on discipline in schools and colleges, he declared:

"That there is a growing love for the country and its institutions among our young men is a matter for congratulation rather than for blame. It shows the new spirit of regeneration . . . It should not and indeed it cannot be checked."

He went on further to ask:

"And, yet, if these young men have gone wrong, whose fault is it?"

Evidently, he believed that the fault was mainly, if not entirely, that of the elders. He proceeded to remove it. During the years 1909-1912 (these were the years of his Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Bombay), he not only undertook the weekly task of giving talks to students under the auspices of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood but also welcomed and accepted invitations from colleges as opportunities of holding "friendly converse with young students" and "seeking mental repose." To this period belong his two Convocation Addresses; his two addresses at the Bombay Law School, his talk at the Elphinstone College in which he spoke of the Old Elphinstonians, and called them Saptarshis of that College; and, of course, his discourses on Wordsworth's Prelude, Tennyson's In Memoriam, and Tagore's Gitanjali. The one central idea which ran through all these talks, discourses and addresses was that the students should remember and realise in all their aspirations and acts that they are the "masters of their country's future," and therefore they should develop seriousness of purpose. His message to them was:

"Be pure, be sincere. Believe the world is good and beautiful . . . This world—the Universe outside you—is the garment of God. It is a whispering gallery. Drink in its beauty; see it, study its majesty, and hear its music, and become beautiful, majestic and musical in body, mind and heart yourselves, because the germs of the beauty, majesty and music that you see in the world outside, are within you."

This was a lofty ideal, and by placing it before young men, Narayanrao sought to drive away thoughts of mere

renunciation and sacrifice which are a negation of life. Moreover, he appealed always to their sense of pride and also to the most delicate, yet most powerful, of all sentiments,—affection, whenever he talked to them about their University or their College. He strove to rouse the enthusiasm of students and instil into their minds the ideals of duty and service. He, however, believed that all aspirations and ideals are in vain if they do not lead to acts—acts of service and to good and pure lives. Towards the end of the period (1909-12), he provided the lead and initiative for the foundation of an organization which, in the course of the next few years, spread its various branches of social work and service throughout the city of Bombay.

The Social Service League was founded in Bombay on March 19, 1911. In the beginning of that year, a movement known as the Holika Sammelan was started under the guidance of the late Dr. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawdekar. The object of this movement was to put a check to evil practices which were indulged in during the Holi festival and in which even educated Hindus participated. A large number of young men from all classes came forward to work as volunteers. The movement aimed at organising healthy and innocent forms of festivity with the same vigour and enthusiasm that was evinced by those who indulged in the earlier unhealthy forms. Mr. G. K. Deodhar, the eminent social worker who was a life-member and later became President of the Servants of India Society founded by Mr. G. K. Gokhale, was the moving figure of the movement. A public meeting was held on March 16. It was addressed, among others, by Mrs. Kashibai Herlekar who gave a vivid picture of how women, in particular, became the victims of the evil practices. The meeting was presided over by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who made a moving speech on the occasion. He reminded his audience of the prime necessity of preserving, practising and exemplifying in their lives the ancient Aryan ideal of purity of thought, word and deed. The movement proved an unqualified success. The enthusiasm, devotion and readiness to serve which were displayed by the young volunteers on the occasion struck those who had taken

the lead. Among them were B. N. Motiwala and B. N. Bhajekar. To these two selfless and devoted social workers occurred the idea of harnessing the exuberant energies of young men for some effort of a permanent character. On the morning of March 19, the weekly meeting of the Students' Brotherhood was held at the Prarthana Mandir. Mr. Motiwala met Narayanrao there and explained to him his idea. Sir Narayan whole-heartedly approved of it. He not only promised to give it his own backing, but undertook to give it a concrete shape. The same evening a social gathering of the volunteers who had taken part in the Holika Sammelan was held. Sir Narayan who presided placed before the meeting the scheme for a permanent organization to be named "The Social Service League, Bombay." The League was founded on a non-sectarian and broad basis, and its membership was thrown open to all persons without distinction of race or creed. A large number of young men and young women threw themselves whole-heartedly into the activities of the League which conceived and put into action a very ambitious programme of many-sided social service. The educational programme of the League consisted of night schools, a series of lantern lectures, free libraries, and classes in hygiene and sanitation. One interesting feature of this activity was the playing cards which were specially designed by Mr. B. N. Bhajekar for the spread of literacy among those who attended the Lantern Lectures. The following extract from the first annual report (1911-12) of the League makes instructive reading:

"We are assured by those who have got experience of teaching that a few games played with these cards will enable the illiterate persons to recognise letters in the alphabet."

The League also conducted Anti-Tuberculosis work, First Aid classes, Ambulance Brigade and relief work of all kinds. One notable activity of the League which, indeed, in course of time became the most important feature of its programme was organisation of labour. It was Mr. N. M. Joshi, rightly known as father of the Trade Union movement in this country, who as one of the life-workers of the League, con-

ceived the idea of starting Settlements and Working Men's Institutes.

The Social Service League celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1936, and brought out a brochure giving an account of its record of work for twenty-five years. In the opening pages of the brochure it was stated that the credit of the work of the League must be given to five gentlemen. They were, B. N. Motiwala who conceived the idea, B. N. Bhajekar who was a pillar of strength for the League and for the cause of social reform in particular, G. K. Deodhar who organised young men and made them give their whole-hearted service for the cause of social purity, N. M. Joshi who gave continuous help and guidance for the furtherance of the aims and objects of the League and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who from the day the League was founded till the last day of his life was not only its president but its guide and counsellor in all its activities.

Narayanrao not only maintained a close and continuous touch with the League's work, but personally interested himself in many of its activities. Only one instance need be quoted to show how, under his wise leadership, the League widened the scope of its usefulness and activities. During the very first year of the League's existence, there was a famine in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch. The Social Service League immediately came forward to organise relief work in and for the affected areas. An executive committee was formed with Sir Narayan as Chairman and L. B. Nayak, B. N. Motiwala, Motilal Vallabhji and K. M. Munshi as Secretaries. One thousand volunteers responded to the call of the committee. A meeting of the volunteers who had enlisted themselves was held on January 29, 1912 in the Prarthana Mandir. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided. There were speeches by some of the members and office-bearers of the Famine Relief Committee. The report of the meeting goes on to say:

"The Chairman in winding up the proceedings dwelt at some length on the supreme importance and value of an organisation such as the one under contemplation, the moral

and spiritual worth of it and the lasting benefits which the selfless workers themselves were sure to obtain for their own moral and spiritual development, apart from the pangs of hunger which their unselfish work was calculated to allay. This meeting was a very successful one. In it were heard words of great encouragement and utterances of great moral value and social significance from the lips of our worthy President. It can be said without a shade of exaggeration that his words had a magic effect. The moment he finished his memorable speech, there was a rush of volunteers on the platform, literally scrambling to get badges with the motto of the Social Service League inscribed on them, namely 'Know, Love, Serve'."

The same report goes on to say that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawdekar took a very keen and active interest in the furtherance of the scheme and the collection of funds. They visited the localities where the volunteers were at work and gave them the encouragement which they needed and which proved to be of great help.

This is one of the innumerable instances of the great, almost magic, influence which Narayanrao had on the minds of young men. With his words full of wisdom and compassion, with a faith in them that could not be shaken, by presenting to them "a living example of the ideals that should guide a Brotherhood of Students," and by manifesting "the spirit of brotherhood in a way more effective than preaching could have done," he led hundreds and thousands of young men and women to take their rightful place in life and society as 'Masters of their country's future.'

XIII

The Householder

(ii)

“There is an idea that the Hindu woman is badly treated; that the husband is the master, and she simply a slave. Nothing can be more erroneous than an opinion of that kind. I don’t know how it is in Bengal, where the zenana system prevails, or in the North Western Provinces; but whatever some people may say, we have Home Rule in India. You don’t know how we are mastered by our wives. It may seem that because they are ignorant, we can control them; but sometimes it is difficult to manage Hindu wives. They are very loving and very faithful; but where the question of control comes, they make us sometimes uneasy. They have also intelligence because, although they do not receive an education in schools, still they possess a large amount of natural intelligence. Again, remember this, that according to the ancient Shastras, woman must always be dependent. Still, there are some Shastras by which woman is regarded as the deity of the house; and even by Manu she is spoken of as the protectress of the house.”

At a meeting of the National Indian Association of England held, on May 28, 1902, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar (of Bombay) gave a very interesting address on “Hindu Social Reform.” The meeting was held in London in the Hall of the Society of Arts, and Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The above pen-portrait of the Hindu wife was drawn by the speaker in the course of his address when he spoke on the social reform movements concerning women. More than circumstantial evidence can be gathered from Narayanrao’s own life to prove that as he spoke, he had before his mind’s eye a picture of his own life as a householder and of his wife who had not received much of education that is given in a school, but possessed a mind full of

natural intelligence and a will that held sway over the large household. Shortly after Narayanrao's appointment as Judge of the High Court, the family moved to a bungalow on Peddar Road which was built by Shet Narottam Morarji, Narayanrao's student who, after the death of his father, Shet Morarji Gokuldas, looked upon Narayanrao as his guardian and adviser in all matters. The family consisted of Narayanrao, Lakshmibai and three children. The eldest of the children, Sundrabai, was married, but she and her husband, D. N. Sirur, stayed with Sundrabai's parents for a number of years till they had a separate home of their own. Vithal and Prabhakar were in the Elphinstone High School then. Shortly after they moved to "Kittredge Lodge", Pedder Road, their youngest child, Manorama, was born (27-7-1902). In 1903, Sundrabai had a son, who was Naryanrao's first grandchild. This boy who was named Madhukar and Manorama brought new joy to the family, and as the new Judge of the High Court with his wife moved prominently in the social circles of Bombay, their house became increasingly an abode of comfort and delight to many. Manorama was a precocious child. By her sweet and intelligent talk, she filled the hearts of her parents and all others with joy. To her father, who loved the company of children, she meant a great deal. In her sweet innocence, her playful movements, and in the words, which often were suggestive of wisdom, which fell from her lips, he saw something of an angel. But the angel was not to have a long earthly existence. After a brief and mysterious illness, Manorama was called away from the mortal world. At the tender age of six she departed, leaving her loving parents and a large circle of doting relatives in profound sorrow. The poor mother carried the mark of the deep blow ever on her heart. To Narayanrao, the blow was not less severe, but he was a man and had, through constant practice and endeavour, learnt how not to allow himself to be overpowered by calamities which are bound to befall human beings. When his friends called on him, shortly after the sad event, to offer him condolences, they were amazed to find him completely self-possessed. He sat in the midst of a large circle of mourners and friends who had come with the intention of associating themselves with his grief and thus helping him to

bear the loss with composure of mind. They were, however, mistaken. They found that Narayanrao had lost not a bit of his usual demeanour. Far from being shaken by the loss of the dear child, he was calm and composed enough to discuss with his visitors the problems of life and death. He spoke to them of different poets and philosophers who thought of death either as a calamity or as a natural event that occurs in the life of every being that is born.

Lakshmibai was conscious of the ever widening sphere of the social responsibilities and functions that naturally surround the wife of so highly placed a person in public life as the Judge of the High Court. Unlike the wives of many others similarly placed in or raised to high positions, Lakshmibai equipped herself with the knowledge and bearing which made her not only a charming hostess at the parties given by her husband and herself but also enabled her to be a real partner to him even in public life. From Mrs. Shevantikabai who, and her husband Rev. Madhavrao Nikambe of the Amroli Church in Girgaum, later became great friends of the Chandavarkars, Lakshmibai learnt enough of English to be able not only to carry on a conversation with facility and to read English newspapers but even, at times, to make speeches in that language. From boldness to greater boldness and with a charm that added considerably to the social eminence of her illustrious husband, Lakshmibai moved in social circles, conversed freely and impressed everyone she met with her personality that raised considerably the Hindu woman in the estimation particularly of Englishmen and of visitors from abroad. She was a vegetarian and whenever she attended dinners at the Government House, she either touched nothing or ate only fruit. At one such dinner party at the Government House, she sat with His Excellency on one side and with one of the principal guests, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir William Mather, on the other. Boldly and with ease, she talked to both the Englishmen throughout. Before he left, Sir William complimented her and thanked her for the very valuable and interesting information she was able to give him in the course of the conversation.

Narayanrao was to preside over a Prize Giving function

of a Girls' High School and his wife had consented to give away the prizes. Narayanrao was held up by court business and was unable to preside over the function. Dr. Mackichan, in his absence, presided but he asked Lakshmibai to make a speech before he addressed the gathering himself. Presumably, she had no previous intimation, but Lakshmibai did not disappoint Dr. Mackichan or the audience. Narayanrao made the following entry in his diary about the occasion:

"My wife addressed the girls in a speech of about fifteen minutes which I have heard from several present was well delivered and brought her encomiums of all present. Dr. Mackichan in his speech complimented her on her powers of oratory."

Narayanrao's elder son, Vithal, went to England in 1908 where it was proposed that he should study for the I. C. S. He was twenty-one at the time. His stay abroad was expected to be a prolonged one. A young man of his age, leaving his parents, his home, and his country for the first time, to go to a foreign land where the conditions of living and customs among the people were totally different, needed, his father felt, all the guidance and encouragement he could get from his elders, especially his parents. Narayanrao wrote to him regularly and there was hardly any mail that did not carry to the young son abroad a letter, full of love and encouragement, from his loving father. He knew that the first hints his son needed in a foreign land where the climate was colder, were with regard to his health. So he asked him to beware of colds which, as he wrote, in England are treacherous. He also cautioned him that hard work was necessary but it should not be at the sacrifice of health. Method in work and habits that are tolerant go a long way in contributing to a successful career in England, and in order to impress this fact on Vithalrao's mind, his father wrote to him,

"I have known several of our youth returned from England who have been failures because of want of method and intolerant habits." What a young student needed most

was directions regarding the method of study. Narayanrao himself had a successful career as a student which he owed mostly to his method of study. He gave detailed directions to his son as to how a book may be studied till it is mastered—for, according to him, no book is worthy of study which is not to be mastered. The method he recommended was that a book should be read for the first time to have a general idea of its subject-matter. For the second time, it should be read with great minuteness to grasp not only the ideas in detail but even the meaning of the words. For this purpose, he wrote, one should always have a dictionary by one's side. Narayanrao himself had acquired the habit of taking notes from the books he read and would have very much liked his sons to cultivate the same habit. He regretted, however, as he wrote to Vithalrao that

"I do not know how it is but I am surprised neither of my sons has inherited my habit of taking notes in writing of whatever I read." He knew, however, there were other methods which were not less effective. He wrote to his son:

"In life we have not to choose so much as to reconcile ourselves to what we are forced to choose."

While mastering one's subject, one has to master oneself, for mastery of the self is the beginning of all success. A student, therefore, has to

"fling away all care; be bold since you are determined to do your best — be resolute, courageous, self-confident, patient and calm."

Young members of an organisation known as the Indian Majlis used to discuss politics freely and sometimes the discussions used to be carried on in an irresponsible manner. Vithalrao had joined the Majlis as a member. When Narayanrao learnt this, he wrote to his son asking him to refrain from taking part in politics and political discussions. He wrote:

"So long as you are a student, your duty is to train your-

self to think carefully, and express yourself, whether in speech or in writing, truthfully, clearly and in a sober manner. You must be more of a listener than a talker in politics so long as you are a student."

In one of his letters which Narayanrao wrote to Vithalrao from Lonavla, he gave him an account of the visit of members of the Poona Prarthana Samaj to their house.

"We had a nice company here last Sunday—about forty members, ladies and gentlemen, of the Prarthana Samaj of Poona, headed by Dr. Bhandarkar. They came from that place to spend here the concluding day of the 40th anniversary celebration of the Samaj. They were all our guests. Your mother acted the hostess splendidly. Dr. Bhandarkar complimented her as a modern Draupadi of the Mahabharata because, within a few hours, she had the breakfast ready and all the wants of the guests were attended to with quiet strength and becoming courtesy."

On the night of December 31, 1909, at 10 p. m., (Narayanrao wrote in his diary):

'As I was sitting in my arm-chair in my bed-room, my thoughts somehow being directed towards finding out how Christ argued, discussed with and answered different kinds of men, such as the Pharisees, the Lawyer, Mary, etc. and as I was trying to explain to myself in my own mind the meaning of "Christ's sympathy", my servant brought me a telegram. My wife who was sitting near me (reading the newspaper) asked me before I had opened the telegram: "What is it about?" I opened and found it was from the Viceroy's Private Secretary informing me, with H. E.'s congratulations, that His Majesty had resolved to knight me on the New Year's Day. This was a surprise to me—my wife said it was no surprise to her."

The Knighthood which was conferred on him was hailed with joy by a very large number of his friends and admirers belonging to all creeds and shades of opinion. To Sir Narayan

himself, it was no source of particular joy or pride. Among those who wrote to offer him their congratulations was the Lord Bishop of Bombay. In his letter of thanks to the Lord Bishop, Narayanrao referred to his musings over "Christ's sympathy" and Christ's discussions with the various types of people like the Pharisees, the Lawyer, etc. He wrote:

"This experience has been suggestive to me and I hope and pray that it may have a beneficial influence on my thoughts and actions in life."

His letter to another friend, Mrs. Anderson, is full of humble gratitude and introspection. He wrote:

"This honour has been a revelation to me in two ways. I did not expect it and it has come. But what has surprised me more than that is the infinite gratification it seems to have afforded among all castes, classes and creeds. I have not been a sociable man and have always cursed myself that I have not the knack of making friends. I have often displeased people by my utterances in public, especially in religious and social matters, and also sometimes on political questions. But now I have been simply overwhelmed with letters and telegrams from people of all creeds and sects and shades of opinion. Oh, how kinder the world is than we take it to be!"

Among the messages Narayanrao received, there were a few he cherished most. One of them was from Rev. Father Shaefer of St. Mary's School. Narayanrao wrote to Father Shaefer:

"I regard your congratulations and good wishes as blessings given to an old pupil of your Institute whose influence on me has never faded and which I cherish fondly in the warmest corner of my heart."

Institutions with which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was connected as president or in a similar capacity as a guide and counsellor vied with one another to express their joy at the honour which was conferred on him. The Bombay

Students' Brotherhood, with whose activities Narayanrao's connection was very intimate, rejoiced in it as an honour conferred, as it were, on itself. At a largely attended function held on March 14, 1910, under the presidentship of Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, Sir Narayan was presented with an address. The president, Sir George Clarke, said:

"I well understand how surely his great knowledge, sobriety of judgment, broad sympathies and true kindness of heart have endeared him to all communities. Taking into consideration all varied elements which combine to make the higher life of modern Indian Society, it is probably not too much to say that Sir Narayan has made himself the foremost Indian Citizen of Bombay."

When he rose to reply to the address, Sir Narayan was visibly moved and overwhelmed. He confessed that it made him humble and conscious of his own weaknesses and lapses as he listened to the words of praise which were showered on him. It was with no sense of particular pride or elation that he received the distinction of Knighthood or the felicitations that followed. His reaction to such happenings found expression in a letter he wrote about six months before he was knighted. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar was appointed to act as Chief Justice for a brief period in 1909. Mr. H. F. Knight, who was a District Judge, wrote to him seeking his advice informally on certain points concerning the Hindu Law. Before concluding the letter, Mr. Knight offered Justice Chandavarkar his warm congratulations upon his being appointed acting Chief Justice. In his reply dated July 17, 1909, Narayanrao wrote to Mr. Knight:

"I do not know that I enjoyed being C. J. I did not feel the joy of it. I have arrived at a stage of life when honours have ceased to gratify me. To take things as they come and work is all I care for."

In 1913, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar resigned from the Bench of the High Court to accept the post of Chief Minister offered to him by H. H. the Maharaja of Indore. This was

another occasion in his life when his friends and admirers organised functions to offer him felicitations and, on this particular occasion, to wish him god-speed. On March 30, 1913, the Kanara Saraswat Association held a function at the Muzfar Abad Hall for this purpose. A large and distinguished gathering was present on the occasion. In thanking the Kanara Saraswat Association for the honour the Association had done him, Narayanrao confessed that he had made a departure from his usual course of behaviour and action in accepting an invitation from a communal organisation that the Association was. He declared, however, that he could not get away from or shake off the fact that he was born in a Saraswat family. He was proud, he said, of his Saraswat parentage, of his Saraswat grandfather and of the Saraswat blood that flowed through his veins, although in all that he did, he had scrupulously followed the principle to avoid all considerations or distinctions of a communal character.

Narayanrao took the reins of the office of Chief Minister of Indore State on April 4, 1913. He continued in that office for eighteen months. This period was a glorious chapter in the history of Indore. One of the events in the Chief Minister's personal life was the birth of his second grandson—the second son and the third child of his daughter, Sundrabai. He was born on the Vijayadashami Day (October 9 of 1913). During the same period, the wedding of Narayanrao's elder son, Vithalrao, who returned from Cambridge as Barrister-at-law with Vatsala, daughter of Mr. Manjunath Vithal Kalkini of Karwar, was celebrated in the midst of great rejoicings on June 2, 1914, in Bombay. Six months later, shortly after Narayanrao resigned the Chief Ministership, the wedding of his younger son, Prabhakar, who was Assistant Collector of Customs in Madras at the time, with Rukma, daughter of Mr. Shankarrao R. Sirur of Ranebennur, took place on December 5, 1914.

It was at Indore that Lady Lakshmibai Chandavarkar was laid up with a serious illness which gave to Narayanrao and other members of the family moments of deep anxiety for several weeks. Although she recovered from the illness

after great physical suffering, Lakshmibai carried with her permanent effects of the illness on one of her legs which became slightly lame. For some special treatment of the nature of massage, she was taken to Calicut. Narayanrao went with her. He was glad to be in the midst of members of the Brahmo Samaj of Calicut. He freely mixed with them and gave them freely out of his scholarship and spiritual experience. One day, a rope-dancer came to the door of the bungalow in which Narayanrao and his ailing wife lived. They saw the feats performed by the man and thoroughly enjoyed them. Lakshmibai was particularly impressed with the skill and nimble movements of a small boy from the group of performers. Rao Saheb A. Gopalan, Secretary of the Calicut Brahmo Samaj, recalled the happy memory of the incident long afterwards. In the tribute he paid to Lakshmibai after her death in 1920, Rao Saheb Gopalan wrote:

“The venerable Lady’s heart was full of love. It had a place for everyone. How she caressed the boy who gave the rope-dancing! He was one of the untouchables to the orthodox Hindu. This caressing scene often appeared to me as a striking demonstration of her love. My wife and children frequently recollect the picture. The wife of a Knight is generally regarded as an unapproachable being. But in her case it was different. She was accessible to all and did not put on any air of greatness.”

After a stay of a few weeks in Calicut, they returned to Bombay. Lakshmibai was much improved in health. Narayanrao was now free from the worries and responsibilities of office. A new phase in their lives—what promised to be a long, happy evening—lay before them. Both the sons were married and were happy with their wives whose education and training in the duties of the household were conducted under Lakshmibai’s care even before they were married. Their son-in-law, D. N. Sirur, prospered in the textile industry. He and his wife Sundrabai, with their children, moved to their own home on Hughes Road. The World War came and it engaged the attention and energies of people, even in India, in various ways. Narayanrao was now free to

take part in political activities. Indian politics had, in 1915, assumed a new phase with the entry of Mrs. Annie Besant into politics with her plan of the Home Rule movement and with the return of Lokamanya Tilak from Mandalay after his release. The extremists in politics opposed India's participation in the war effort. Narayanrao was one of those who looked upon the war as a grand opportunity for the Indians to prove through their heroism that they were quite worthy of the political rights they were demanding. Educated women were called upon to join the relief activities for the wounded soldiers and Sundrabai, Narayanrao's daughter, was appointed as one of the Secretaries of the Women's War Relief Committee formed in Bombay.

For four long and bitter years, the war wore on. Towards the end of the period, the political world of the city of Bombay was rudely shaken by the controversy that raged over the question of giving a public address of farewell to Lord Willingdon on the eve of his retirement from Bombay as Governor. Those who were opposed to the idea were ably led by Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah, the future creator of Pakistan, who at the time belonged to the nationalist group. A meeting was held in the Town Hall to consider the proposal. Before and after the meeting, the Congress Press carried on a violent campaign against those who supported the proposal. Narayanrao was one of the supporters and was a victim of the attack. The campaign went on for many days. It was the month of October or November (1918). The Chandavarkars were in Lonavla where, in Lakshmi Griha, Lakshmibai had been staying for several weeks for reasons of health. It was the beginning of her fatal illness. One day, after lunch, Narayanrao, Lakshmibai and others sat in the veranda conversing together. The post came and it brought the copy of the Bombay Chronicle of that morning. Narayanrao opened it. Evidently it contained some further criticism against those who did not belong to the Jinnah group. "Let us not have this wretched paper from tomorrow," he shouted in an angry voice. "Why?" Lakshmibai asked. Her tone was quiet but firm. "On the contrary, we must read papers like the Chronicle with greater attention and devotion." The words

of sweet reasonableness poured oil over the troubled waters, and Narayanrao's temper cooled down in a moment. He felt ashamed of himself when Lakshmibai reminded him of the words of Tukaram: "Let the house of your calumniator be next to your own." (निदकाचें घर असावें शेजारीं ।).

Lakshmibai's illness grew in seriousness and physical suffering. Her heart had a deep wound inflicted on it when the first child, a boy, of her younger son, Prabhakar, died before it was a month old. Her heart bled and wept silently and her body languished. The secret hand of death began to cast its snares around her. On December 27, 1919, the eldest child of Vithalrao was born. In the midst of widespread joy and enthusiasm, the Namkaran ceremony of the new-born boy was performed, and at the suggestion of the grandmother the boy was named Sumant. It appeared the happy event would have a favourable effect on Lakshmibai's health. For a short while it did, but once again, it took a turn for the worse, and with the advent of the new year, 1920, it was clear that the end was near. Lakshmibai left this mortal world on the night of January 26. Her death created a deep and a permanent void in Narayanrao's home, in his household and in his heart. Gone for ever was "the presiding genius" of his home, who was to him गृहिणी, सचिव, सखी मित्रः, and प्रियाशिष्या (wife, counsellor, companion of the hours of solitude and a dear disciple) all in one, even as Indumati was to Aja, King of Ayodhya, of the *Raghuvansha*. Outwardly, he seemed to bear the sorrow with fortitude and calmness. He began to spend much of his time with his little grandsons. For a time the company of the little ones helped him to forget his sorrow, but it came back with fresh pangs. On December 2, 1921, which was his sixty-sixth birthday, he wrote in his diary:

"Alas! the dearest companion no longer here to cheer. God's will! He knows what is best."

XIV

The Prarthana Samaj

It may be recalled that while Narayanrao was in the Mission School at Honavar, his mind was attracted towards the teachings of the Bible. The same tendency was noticed in him when he was a pupil of St. Mary's Institution in Bombay. From St. Mary's he went to the Elphinstone High School. In an article he contributed to the Golden Jubilee Number of the *Indian Mirror* in 1910, Narayanrao wrote:

"The Indian Mirror was one of the journals which influenced me in forming my views on religious and social reform when I was at school and college... I was first introduced to a perusal of its columns by one who was then a pioneer of religious and social reform in Bombay.... I refer to the late Mr. Wasudeo Babaji Nowrungay."

In the year 1870, when Narayanrao was about fourteen, his maternal uncle, Mr. Shamrav Vithal, took him to a meeting of the Prarthana Samaj with a view to introducing to his young, growing mind, the liberal religious movement which was founded three years before. Mr. Shamrav Vithal pointed out to him the leaders of the Prarthana Samaj. Among them were Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, W. B. Nowrungay, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade and Bal Mangesh Wagle. "These are *Ekeshwaries*," said the Uncle. Young Narayan's mind was fired with curiosity and a yearning to know them.

In the forties of the last century, a number of young men who were brought up in schools and colleges were fired with ideas of national reform. These ideas were mainly secular. They gathered round Mr. Dadoba Pandurang who was an Inspector of Government Schools. Dadoba's dominating idea was to get rid of caste, and so with the help of his young friends and followers, he started the Paramahansa Sabha.

The object of this society was to do away with caste and caste differences. A person who was admitted as a member had to take a pledge not to observe caste. Speaking about it, Narayanrao said,

"It went on for some years until at last it met the fate which all secret bodies with no bottom, no real foundation for their ideas and ideals share. Some members stole the account books and the list of members of the Paramahansa Sabha. The word went round; everybody began to fear that he was going to be exposed, and at last the Paramahansa Sabha collapsed."***

Most of the members of the Sabha lost their enthusiasm for the ideals of the Sabha—the abolition of caste and reform of the society. There were, however, a few who felt that reform of the society meant a new life, and a new life meant a new spirit. It was their conviction, which grew with the disappearance of the Paramahansa Sabha, that true and abiding reform sprang from the heart, inspired by high ideals—ideals of holiness and adherence to truth with a courage that never failed. Such ideals can be evolved and realised only through faith in God and humanity.

In 1864, Keshab Chandra Sen, the great Brahmo preacher from Calcutta, visited Bombay, but it was difficult for him to gain the ear of the people of Bombay as everyone seemed to have been caught in a craze to become rich. A crash came soon after, and men who were running after riches realised that after all, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, was not more steady than the waterdrop on the lotus leaf. Men who were proud in their prosperity became humble. In 1867, when Keshab Chandra Sen visited Bombay for the second time, he found that things had changed. As Narayanrao said about his visit,

".....he was able to deliver in the Town Hall an address which will remain always in the minds of those that heard it."**

***Speeches and writings Page 402.

**Speeches and writings Pages 402-403.

In the same year, the Prarthana Samaj was founded. Those who founded it were men of faith and they felt that spiritual reform ought to be the basis of all reform, and therefore they founded a society (on the 11th of the dark half of Falgun of Shak 1788, which is known as the Pāp-Vimochani Ekadashi—the 31st of March, 1867) with “Prarthana” or prayer as its main objective and fundamental doctrine. Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, the younger brother of Dadoba Pandurang, whose eyes were opened to realities by the fate which the Paramahansa Sabha had met with, was foremost among those who founded the Prarthana Samaj and became its first president.

Narayanrao described the Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Arya Samaj founded by Pandit Dayanand Saraswati, and the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay as “Hindu Protestant” Movements and looked upon their mission as a *national* mission. His idea of the national mission was:

“Equally true is it to say of our people that while their social progress can but come through their religious reform, their religious reform must come from their own “essential” past. Hence the necessity of teaching them what their own prophets and saints have said and preached and of trying to impress them with the ideals of holiness, for the realisation of which those prophets and saints lived and laboured hard.”**

He was struck with the fact that it was the spirit of Hindu Protestantism that was inspiring the preachers of the Prarthana Samaj or the Arya Samaj, and with the endeavours of those preachers to emphasise the teachings of the Upanishads and of Hindu saints, and to recall their countrymen to the principles of their ‘ancient ways’. In his article on “Reform, not Revival,” he referred in particular to the work of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Mr. Narayan Mahadev Paramanand, and Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ranade. This school of

**Speeches and writings, Page 40.

“Hindoo Protestantism”, Narayanrao was convinced, sought to build on the old foundations, but was also ready to accept what was good in the teachings of other religions also, because, according to this school, the true and simple ideal of *Bhakti* was to be found also in the teachings of Christ, Mahomed and Buddha whom it looked upon as ideal ‘*Bhaktas*.’

There were many persons who, as Mr. Justice Ranade had pointed out in one of his sermons, appreciated the work of the Prarthana Samaj and had nothing to say against it, but felt that it was not necessary for a person to join a Samaj for the worship of God. Narayanrao’s view on this question which was the same as that of Mr. Ranade, was:

“When we become members of a body wedded to certain principles, we become ‘marked men’; every lapse is laid hold of and we are judged—and rightly—by the standard that we have accepted.”****

In the ideals and activities of the Prarthana Samaj, Narayanrao saw a vision of the future. It was a vision that was living because, as he felt and believed, it was founded on the faith that ‘righteousness and not superstition exalteth a people.’ He knew also that the movement was small, but the pioneers of the movement could claim that though they had not done much, they had not tried to mislead the masses by playing on their prejudices and superstitions, but had been trying to make the lives and teachings of our saints, as of the saints of other countries, clear to all, and to make their real spirit the inspiring soul of our lives and activities. Above all, he believed, the mission of the Prarthana Samaj carried with it “a conscience for our country’s sins” and at the same time emphasised “the divine possibilities within.”†

Narayanrao became acquainted with the Prarthana Samaj, its founders and activities for the first time when he was 14. Eleven years later, in 1881, he joined the Prarthana Samaj as a member, and thus had his heart’s yearning to

****Speeches and writings, Page 45.

† Speeches and writings, P. 46.

know the leaders of the Samaj fulfilled. He regarded them as "the exemplars of my youth" and "guides of my manhood."** He was glad to place his youthful energies under the influence of these men whom he revered and whose footsteps he deemed it a privilege to follow. Of these, Dr. Atma-ram Pandurang, the president of the Samaj had, he found, a venerable figure which was most typical. He found Dr. Atma-ram Pandurang always ready to identify himself with a good cause, and that he lived his life in the spirit of true trust in God. Soon after he joined the Prarthana Samaj, Narayanrao became its Secretary, and found that his chief, the president, "never exercised the office of the president which he held in such a way as to show that he was conscious of the privileges which it conferred upon him."‡ Narayan Mahadev Paramanand, another of his gurus, was "more like a *Rishi* than any among us." and "He was one of the most charming of men, and quietly, with a saintliness, with a heart entirely devoted to God, did he work for the good of his country."§ He revered Wasoodev Babaji Nowrungay as the "conscience of the Prarthana Samaj." Among these early leaders of the Prarthana Samaj, the nearest to his heart's devotion and intimacy was Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar whom he once called "my venerable Acharya," but in more intimate language he loved to call him and look upon him as "my Maharshi." At the Divine Service which was conducted by Dr. Bhandarkar, Narayanrao took the oath of membership of the Samaj. Referring to that act, Dr. Bhandarkar said thirty-four years later, at a function which was held in Narayanrao's honour on the eve of his departure for Indore, that "the education which Sir Narayan had received at College made him feel the presence of God everywhere and it was that feeling that made him join the Prarthana Samaj." It has, however, to be noted that it was not college education alone, but his reading which went far beyond the books he had to read for his examinations, the early impressions he carried on his mind of saintly men like the founders of the Prarthana Samaj itself and above all, the training, guidance,

**Introduction to Dr. Bhandarkar's Sermons and writings, P. 11.

‡Speeches and writings, Page 567.

§Speeches and writings, Page 41.

and encouragement that he had from his uncle and guardian, Mr. Shamrav Vithal,—all these had a share in the shaping of his views on religion, and in general, on religious reform as the basis of all reform and of national progress. When he decided to join the Prarthana Samaj, warnings and notes of caution were sounded and a dark picture was painted of the future of an institution like the Prarthana Samaj by his friends whom he called “these prophets of evil.”** They told him that the Prarthana Samaj “must collapse with the collapse of those who have started it, that with the disappearance from the scene of men like Dr. Atmaram, Mr. Ranade, Mr. Modak and others, this building would be forlorn and deserted; and the time would come and, these prophets of evil said, the time must come very early....”† Narayanrao’s faith in the future was too robust to yield to these forebodings, and with the satisfaction that the future had not betrayed his faith, he declared nearly twenty-five years later that “this is the only institution that has survived among the institutions which were started with it,” and that “the prospect is even more hopeful than it was when I became a member of this body.”‡ It has also to be gratefully remembered and acknowledged that Narayanrao, after joining the Samaj, did not leave his faith and the future of the Samaj to take care of themselves. He was not one of the founders or pioneers of the Samaj; he was glad to call himself their humble disciple and lieutenant. From the day he joined the Prarthana Samaj, he regarded its work as his own and service to the Samaj as the most sacred thing he was ever called upon to perform. During his connection with the Samaj of forty-two years he made a solid and lasting contribution to its development and growth.

As a member of the Samaj, Narayanrao accepted and laid down for himself certain objective standards. Such standards he regarded as essential in order to prevent men from drifting, and to make them answerable for what they said and

**Speeches and writings Page 568.

†Speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Theistic Conference held in Bombay in 1905 (Speeches and writings, P. 568).

‡Speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Theistic Conference held in Bombay in 1905 (Speeches and writings, P. 568).

did. For the proper fashioning of the life of a common man, and particularly for his spiritual growth, it is necessary for him to subject himself to certain standards of thought and action. The habit of daily prayer and meditation was one of these standards. Even as a child, Narayanrao had been trained by his grandfather to the habits of rising early and of daily prayer. A perusal of his diaries reveals that he rarely got up later than at four in the morning and in his daily routine which was written on the opening page of his diary he set aside a major portion of the first two hours from 4 a.m. to 6 a.m. to meditation and prayer. During these morning hours, he sang and meditated on hymns from the Prarthana Sangeet and then prayed. From 6 a.m. to 7-30 a.m. he read either the Dnyaneshwari or the Bible or the Geeta or works of Wordsworth, Browning or Tennyson. The attendance at the weekly Divine Service in the Prarthana Mandir was another objective standard and rule of behaviour he set for himself. He looked upon these Services as a source of hope and spiritual light for those who despair and grope in darkness and also as one of the best preparations for life's duties in a spirit of correct manhood in this world of distractions. Before he attended the Divine Service in the Prarthana Mandir, Narayanrao underwent a kind of a preparation which included readings from masters like Emerson. He called it "This sunny height of the heart and soul" which prepared him for the Service. Then,

"And as a few minutes before the service begins at half-past-five I enter the Mandir, all in and about it seems to say: 'Peace; be still!' The noise of human crowds, or trams or carriages or motor cars drops not on the ear; the eye, as soon as I step into the Mandir, rests on it and its associations. The number of women and men who, like me, have come to hear God's words and sing His glory, take hold of my mind and this spirit of associated humanity so photographed by the mental vision stands to speak out by its very silence and reminds me how God has placed us in this world to live and love as His children. "Union is Strength"—but union to be strong must rest on the strength of God as Love."**

**A Wrestling Soul (II): Speeches and writings, Pages 604-605.

He listened to the prayers offered and the sermon preached by the person who occupied the pulpit with rapt attention and devotion. There were others whom he had heard saying that "the prayers and sermons are generally tame and we learn nothing." Speaking for himself, he said:

"There is not a single preacher in the pulpit from whose discourse I have not caught some inspiration of hope, some lesson of light which I have not learnt."†

Once, Narayanrao found that Mr. B. B. Korgamkar, a devoted member of the Prarthana Samaj and one of his intimate friends, was asked to take the pulpit for the second time during the same month. He wrote to the Secretary of the Prarthana Samaj:

"Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to see Mr. Korgamkar in the pulpit, for his very life is a sermon and service; but it is not fair to throw the burden twice a month on him as he is hard-worked already. Had I known there was none else to take up the service yesterday, I would have relieved Mr. Korgamkar."

Mr. Korgamker himself,—he was the Secretary of the Samaj at that time—once wrote to Narayanrao asking him to conduct the service one Sunday afternoon, giving him a very short notice as the person who was to conduct it was unable to fulfil the engagement. Narayanrao, in haste, wrote a reply which, he realised later, was not very courteous. He wrote another, and a short one, which began with the words: "I plead guilty...."

To Narayanrao, the sight of the Prarthana Mandir and of the Samaj was a sacred symbol of life and eternity.

"What do I not owe to my Samaj?" he exclaimed, "What it has done for me during the twenty-eight years I have been privileged to be one of its members is far, far more than

† A Wrestling Soul (II): Speeches and writings, Page 605.

anything by way of humble service I can claim to have done for it. I have with the growth of my manhood come to look upon it as the centre of my best thoughts and affections and I have learnt to measure all my actions by the standard of its rules and ideals."

During the first nineteen or twenty years of his membership of the Samaj, he served it for a fairly long period as its Secretary. In 1901, when Mr. Justice Ranade died, Narayanrao was elected president in his place and he continued to be president of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj till the last day of his life. During these forty-two years, he rendered still greater service to the cause of the Samaj as its preacher and by his writings in the Subodha Patrika, the weekly organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The sermons he delivered from the pulpit of the Prarthana Mandir were earnest utterances that came from the depth of his heart and his spiritual endeavour and experience. Narayanrao has left behind a large number of note-books, big and small, which are filled with the notes he took from his daily readings and his own thoughts and musings on what he read. These notes and musings were the inexhaustible treasure from which he drew for his sermons and writings, and when they did not form the basis of his utterances, his own experience—what he heard or saw in casual happenings of daily life—furnished the material. There are striking illustrations of this aspect of his speeches and writings. One of them, which is reproduced below, forms the opening paragraph of his article on "Hindoo Protestantism—Reform, not Revival":

"It was the summer of 1894. I was on my way to Lonavla from Nasik, and had to halt at the Kalyan station for some hours. Having nothing to do but to while away my time, I walked to and fro on the station platform for some time and then stood under the shade of a tree to enjoy the cool breeze that was blowing. I found there two poorly clad and simple-looking men, one a Mahomedan and the other a Maratha, both sitting and talking of God and man. The Mahomedan was reciting the songs of Kabir, the Maratha was reciting the songs of Tukaram and Namdev, and each seemed to enter

fully into the devotional spirit of those two saints. The recitations were intermixed with conversation between the two, and I could not help feeling edified, but at the same time humbled, when I heard these two illiterate men—for such they seemed—say to each other that true devotion was at a discount in these days, that religion had become a matter of formality, and, instead of making both the Hindoo and the Mahomedan feel that they were children of the same God, it had degenerated into schisms. On the lips of both was the word *bhakti* or devotion, and uneducated as they were—poor mean things, as we are apt to say—they struck me from their one hour's conversation, which I quietly watched and heard, as the disciples of the *Bhakti* School: i.e. of a class of Indian saints whom Mr. Justice Ranade described, in a lecture delivered at the Prarthana Samaj two years ago, as “the preachers and prophets of Hindoo Protestantism.” I approached the two men, and discovered, if my recollection is right, that the Mahomedan was a sweeper and the Maratha a porter—both employed at the railway station at Kalyan. Such sights are by no means rare in India, and it is one of the most striking features of the country that caste-ridden as the people are, even amongst the most degraded of Shudras, who have been known as *Mahars*, you come across men who are remarkable for their spiritual insight, and elate you as you hear them by their simple and soul-stirring way of reciting the songs and recounting the doings of some of the best and greatest of our saints. One such *Mahar* I remember to have met a few years ago at Khandalla, and in the course of the *Kirtan* he performed, appealing to the saints of the *Bhakti* School, he said: “O ye sants,” i.e. saints, “when even the Vedas and the Brahmins deserted and discarded us, Mahars, as the most degraded of human beings, ye of the *Bhakti* School came to our rescue and have left us a ray of hope.”

This article was not written for the *Subodha Patrika*, nor was it the reproduced version of a sermon preached from the pulpit of the Prarthana Mandir. But the predominant note of the article, as of most of his writings, was religious. In 1912, Narayanrao contributed a series of seven articles to the “*Times of India*” with the general title “*The Heart of Hindu-*

ism". In presenting the articles to the readers, the "Times of India", in an editorial, wrote:

"There is an extensive literature relating to the philosophical and metaphysical side of Hinduism.....But it is not to the Brahminical philosophy which furnishes it with an intellectual background nor to the crude animism which colours so much of the bulk of the Hindu religion that the great socio-religious system known as Hinduism owes its remarkable vitality. Abstract ideas, however charming, do not appeal to the mass of mankind. Nor is there anything in the not seldom uncouth idol-worship of the lower strata of Hindu society, which can ensure for Hinduism a power of persistence that was denied to the more aesthetic forms of Greek and Roman priestcraft. We have, therefore, to look elsewhere for the secret of the wonderful vitality of Hinduism, which has enabled it to resist with considerable success assaults from without and within. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's articles are calculated to shed valuable light on this interesting problem. They are not intended as a contribution to Hindu philosophy or Hindu popular worship but as a means of affording the outer world some idea of those traits which form, as it were, the common foundation of the life of the Hindu masses."

Narayanrao rendered a signal and lasting service by writing these articles and portraying in them the secret that underlies the religion that has been practised and lived by the Hindu masses for centuries. The sub-title of his essays were "Malhari the Mahar", "Hari the Householder" and so on, and what he wrote in these articles was all drawn from what he had seen. His Malhari and Hari were not imaginary or legendary figures but persons whom he had met and actually talked to. Indeed, the major portion of the articles is a reproduction of the conversation that had taken place between the writer and his friend Malhari or Hari, and the writer's genius is to be seen in the fact that he presented the Heart of Hinduism, not in his words but in the words of those friends of his who represented the Hindu masses.

Narayanrao was one of the three great leaders, the other

two being Bhandarkar and Ranade, who gave the message of the Prarthana Samaj, a definite form. With the other two patriarchs, and following the lead given by them, he cast that message into the mould of the "national ideal" (of which he wrote in 1895) which was based on the teachings of the old prophets of the ancient times and of the Bhakti School. His sermons and religious writings are a source of comfort and inspiration and light to those who need it in their own spiritual endeavour and moments of doubt and darkness. Whatever comfort, inspiration and light he needed himself, he always received it in rich abundance from God and from his mother Samaj to whom he turned and returned with a prayer:

"My mother Samaj! Thou standest to me for Prayer—
thou art the star of my life to chasten me and guide my steps!
In God's name, under His inspiration, teach me to be patient,
humble, charitable and,

Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distance scene—one step enough for me."*

*Speeches and Writings—P. 606.

XV

The student that never ceased to be one

"The key to his greatness and goodness must be found in the discipline to which he subjected himself as a student and the habits of study he acquired."

The Hon'ble Mr. Chandavarkar delivered a lecture on "the late Mr. Justice Telang as a student" before the Wilson College Literary Society on Monday, 27th August 1900. He began his address by describing Mr. Telang as one who was a student throughout his life, and then went on to point out the key to Telang's greatness and goodness which are described in the words quoted above. Narayanrao stated that in Mr. Telang's career can be found an excellent illustration of the aphorism that a man's real education is that which he gives himself after he has left school and college.

Like Mr. Telang, Narayanrao also was a student throughout his life, and "loved learning and even in the busiest days of his life was wont to betake himself to his favourite studies in literature."** There was, however, one difference between Telang and Chandavarkar as students. While Telang "had not distinguished himself as a particularly brilliant boy" at school or at college, Narayanrao had, by his intelligence and his methods of study, attracted the attention and even the admiration of his teachers and professors including Principal Wordsworth of the Elphinstone College who was amazed at the deep study which was evident in the essay Narayanrao wrote on "English Monasteries and their dissolution." Telang and his scholarship had engaged Narayanrao's admiring gaze even while he was at college. The following incident narrated by Narayanrao speaks of the admiration which he, as a student, had for Mr. Telang, but it also illustrates how Narayanrao himself was attracted to anything that held out an

** Speeches and Writings. Page 212.

opportunity to learn and acquire knowledge. He referred to "two meetings held in the early seventies in the hall of the Free General Assembly's Institution in Khetwadi at one of which Dr. Murray Mitchell delivered a lecture on Christianity, and at the other at which the late Mr. Mahadev Moreshwar Kunte delivered an address on 'Symbolism in Hindoo Religion'." Mr. Telang attended both meetings, and at both of them he was asked by the late Dr. Wilson to speak. But he declined. Those of us who were present then—young men in college who admired Telang as an attractive speaker and wished to get as many opportunities as we could of listening to him—felt disappointed. Years afterwards when I came to be intimate with him, I asked him why he had declined to speak at the two meetings after so great a man as Dr. Wilson had done him the honour of urging him to rise and speak. His answer was that he had made it a rule never to speak for speaking's sake, and never to address a meeting unless he was pretty sure of his ground."**

Mr. G. S. Khaparde of Amaraoti who was Narayanrao's contemporary at the Elphinstone College used to call him "Vidya Vachaspati" (the master of speech and learning). This mastery over speech and learning was the outcome of his deep and continuous study. He studied not only what he read, but also from what he heard and saw. He attended meetings, listened to lectures and debates, and from all these he drew carefully and earnestly what was good for the enrichment of his mind. He was fond of literature—Western literature as well as the literature of ancient and medieval India, but while he read and studied the works of literary masters, he marked not only their thoughts but also the language in which the thoughts were presented. In the Convocation Address he delivered as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay in 1909, Narayanrao spoke of the study of language as something far more important than a mechanical study—he regarded language as life itself and quoted the authority of Patanjali who said that the use of correct words to express our thoughts leads to spiritual good and that the use of ungrammatical words is a sin. In the same address he recalled

** Speeches and Writings—Pages 216-217.

what his old Teacher, the Rev. Dr. Willy of St. Mary's Institution, had taught him as he looked over their Latin compositions. "Look here, a man who does not write and speak correctly and accurately is not a gentleman." This warning uttered by his teacher was deeply imprinted on Narayanrao's mind. He not only wrote and spoke correctly and accurately, but he read with such minuteness as would put to shame any student at college reading for his examination. In one of his note-books one finds the following entry:

"A. Lincoln's Gettysburg speech—one of the 15 decisive battles there—July 1 to 4, 1863. Speech on Nov. 19, 1863. It has 267 words of which 200 are of one syllable, 43 of two syllables and the rest of three or more.—Short Saxon words.—Absence of superlatives of the descriptive adjective.—Difference between the orator and the elocutionist."

In his habits of study, memorising had an important place. He told the students of the Bombay Law School in 1909, (September 2):

"Examinations, it is said, encourage cram. But there again we must take care to understand what "cram" means. A certain amount of cram is necessary for the acquisition and assimilation of knowledge. You cannot do without it."**

That the speaker was not uttering mere platitudes before his young listeners can be seen from the following entry in his daily journal which is dated 25-4-1910:

"At Khandalla. In the morning after prayer and meditation, I had a walk for half an hour. Read the Prelude: Book IV and *committed to memory* the lines beginning with.....

"In the afternoon read the Prelude Book IV and made a synopsis of the Book and its leading ideas and the lessons to be learnt from it."

The Bombay Students' Brotherhood of which Narayan-

** Speeches and Writings—Page 391.

rao was President conducted Sunday Classes for young men and women. At many of these weekly classes, Narayanrao gave discourses mainly on English poetry. The first series of these discourses were on Wordsworth's *Prelude*. These discourses, about fifteen in number, were delivered in the years 1909-12 and drew large audiences of eager college students who drank deep from the stream of knowledge and wisdom that flowed from the heart of their revered President. Everyone of those who heard them derived a benefit that was lasting, and even in their later lives they remained grateful to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar for those discourses on '*Prelude*' and those that followed on Tennyson's "*In Memoriam*", Rabindranath's "*Gitanjali*," and other works. In the midst of his onerous duties as Judge of the High Court and his other activities as President of the Social Reform Association, Prarthana Samaj, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and several other organisations, Narayanrao found time for preparing these discourses. The extract from his daily journal which has been reproduced above gives an adequate idea of how carefully the discourses must have been planned, and what an amount of deep study and patient labour must have been bestowed on them. The discourses on Wordsworth's *Prelude* are included in the Collection of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's Speeches and Writings, and shortly after they were delivered they also appeared in print in a small brochure. Even to-day, after nearly forty-five years, they have retained their freshness, and anyone who reads them will find what Sir Narayan claimed for the original poem—'a precious lesson for life'. The "*Prelude*," Narayanrao told his young friends,

"will teach us to love natural scenery. Yes—that is true but that is not the whole truth. What is gained in life by loving natural scenery? I look at the blue skies above, the stars overhead, the flowers and trees on earth—and admire. But what comes out of the admiration? Wordsworth gives you the answer. Nature is life just as you and I are life; and her life is linked to ours, each is made to act on the other; and we are linked together by the golden chain of love. Love, therefore, is the ruling principle, the law of life.

"By love subsists
All lasting grandeur, by pervading love;
That gone, we are dust."

Wordsworth's "Prelude" and the works of the two or three other poets, Narayanrao specially studied, it is true, for the discourses he had undertaken to deliver for the members of the Students' Brotherhood. But these formed only a small portion of his own programme of reading and study which included the Upanishads and the Bhagvadgeeta, Dnyaneshwar and Tukaram, Browning and the Bible, the teachings of the Buddha and Christ. In most of his diaries one comes across a page like the following laying down the daily routine he chalked out for himself:

Well-ordered Life

- 4-6 a.m.: Meditation and Prayer—Hymns from the Prarthana Sangit.
- 6-7.30 a.m.: Bible, Browning.
- 8-11.30 a.m.: Work at the books on Law.
- 1-2 p.m.: Correspondence.
- 2-3 p.m.: Newspaper notes.
- 3-5 p.m.: Writing for papers, etc.
- 5-7 p.m.: Walk.
- 7-8 p.m.: Meditation and Prayer: The Upanishads.
- 8-10 p.m.: Cardinal Newman,—Any new book.

This was the daily programme during the holidays and after retirement from active life. On working days, the major portion of the day from 7-30 a.m. to 5 p.m. was set apart for Court work and for a study of the cases etc. But the first two or three hours in the morning and about two hours before bed were the hours of his solitude when his only companions were his favourite authors and masters and his

Maker to whom he turned for spiritual strength and for light and solace which he needed frequently.

His study was three-fold—reading, meditation, and taking notes out of the reading and meditation. The following page reproduced from one of his numerous, bulky, closely written note-books which contains notes on St. Paul's Epistles, the Bhagvadgeeta and one or two other works which provided his daily reading serves as a specimen—

"I Corinthians.

Chapter IX—Paul as an Apostle.

Leadership:

I. How does Paul claim as a result of his apostleship that the Corinthians to whom he had preached should not be *carnal*?

- (a) Though I have power to eat and drink and marry etc. and forbear working, I have worked for you.
- (b) Therefore, he that ploweth should plow in hope; he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope.
- (c) It follows that having sown unto you spiritual things, I should reap not carnal things.

II. Was Paul an apostle by necessity or of his own free will?

"Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe unto me if I preach not the gospel." "A dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me."

III. What is his reward then?

Disinterested service is freedom. Preaching without charges, "I am free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all men that I might gain the more." i.e. disinterested service brings more converts than interested service.

IV. "Servant unto all"—*Explain that.*

"I am made all things to all men—to the Jews, a Jew.

V. Why did Paul make himself all things to all men in preaching the gospel?

For two objects: (1) To gain all in the gospel.
(2) "That I might be partaker thereof with you."

VI. "That I might be partaker thereof with you." By what figure of speech does Paul illustrate that?

Running a race. All in a race run for the prize but one obtaineth it. "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things.

What is the scope of Chapter IX?

Apostleship—how God's mission shall be carried on. Sowing spiritual things to reap them; preaching the gospel because the burden of it is laid by necessity; preaching without charge—making myself all things to all men—temperate in all things for mastery. The chapter deals with the qualifications for Leadership."

Narayanrao told the students of the Bombay Law School in 1909 that:

"The first thing in dealing with a case which a lawyer has to handle, whether as judge or as advocate, is to get to its very heart or kernel, to master its facts in such a way as to get at the main point or points in controversy; and then having got at them, to direct the evidence to them. For this purpose, the lawyer has to learn from the scientist on the one hand and the literary artist on the other; and not without the talent of either combined can any one become a truly legal-minded man."**

As an illustration of this habit and mode of study, he quoted the story of Abraham Lincoln, told by himself, who:

**Speeches and Writings—Page 391.

"in the course of his practice at the Bar, constantly coming across the word "demonstrate" thought at first he understood its meaning but soon became dissatisfied that he did not. He consulted Webster's Dictionary. That told him of "certain proof beyond the probability of doubt" but he could form no idea of what sort of proof that was. He consulted all the books of reference he could find but with no better results. He thought he could as well have defined the blue to a blind man. At last he said to himself: "Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not know what 'demonstrate' means.", and so he worked until he could give any proposition of the six books of Euclid at sight. "I then found out" he said, "what 'demonstrate' meant." His biographer tells us that this study was performed by Lincoln 'at odd intervals while he was engaged in trial work on the circuit, and that it was discipline of this quality, carried on at night after a hard day's work in the courts which led to his growth as a lawyer as a natural result."†

Narayanrao's method of pursuit of truth and the deeper meaning of what he read—and heard and saw—was not different from Lincoln's. One night, before retiring, he sat with his head bowed in prayer to God. He was thinking of what he should say by way of prayer. Somehow, the words uttered by "the Master of old" to serve as a light for life's journey came spontaneously to his lips from the depth of his heart. "I and the Father are one; I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in Me. He doeth the works."

After a night's peaceful and sweet rest, he rose in the morning refreshed. All nature seemed bathed in the storm of the previous evening. As he was looking "on the sun peeping through the clouds that still hung on the eastern hills, and heard the sweet music of the birds—a single cuckoo from some invisible haunt was somewhat lustily sending forth its note of spring"—he heard once again the words coming from the depth of his heart: "I and the Father are one." He wrote in one of his articles entitled "A Wrestling Soul":

†Speeches and Writings—Pages 391-392.

“I and the Father are one: I speak of myself; but the Father dwelleth in me. He doeth the works.’ This is what Jesus Christ said and the sacred words uttered nearly two thousand years ago in Palestine have lived to lighten the sorrows of life for toiling and suffering humanity. And have not our saints in India said the same in exactly the same language? I was the questioner and my *Maharshi* (Dr. Bhandarkar) was all aflame with the spirit divine as he poured forth hymn after hymn of Tukaram in which that child of God proclaimed “I and the Father are one.” to make it clear unto the world that God is in us, speaks unto us and guides us every moment of our lives—only we are listless and harken not in the pride of our hearts and the conceit of our passions.

“So instructed, I returned home and there another joy awaited me. Two beloved friends—a Christian Missionary and his wife—had called and were waiting for me. We spent the day together and we talked about the sacred words: “I and the Father are one.” We read and religiously enjoyed the 14th, 15th and 16th chapters of the Gospel of St. John. I compared them with some of the sacred songs of our Hindu saints, Savanta and Namdev, and with the melodious hymns of that songstress of Hindu devotion—my lady Saint Muktabai.

“The words ‘I and the Father are one’ seemed thus to follow me and ring in my ears throughout the day.”

This is a striking illustration of how Narayanrao pondered over what he read, discussed it with his friends whose literary tastes (and religious inclinations) were like his own and compared it with what he read from other writers. It was a severe mental exercise he subjected himself to, but he did so with the joy of spiritual enrichment and elevation. On that particular day, he had “a succession of sweet sensations born of the inspiring words “I and the Father are one.”

In 1921, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar wrote for Messrs. Macmillan and Company two volumes on moral education

with the title "Light for Life". Drawing on his vast and varied scholarship which included a study of the Bhagvad Gita and the Dnyaneshwari, and the works of other saints and teachers of India, he cast the chapters in a mould that was essentially Indian for, as he said in the Preface, the truths of morality which are the same for all men, will appeal to the Indian student forcibly and effectively, if they are presented to him, "in such a way as to unfold them" from the Indian point of view. But, as he believed, "one can know one's own religion or country at its best only when one has learnt it by the light of the civilizations of other countries." While, therefore, making it his main endeavour to give the book an Indian cast, he also made use of the truths of morality as they are presented in the Bible, the Koran, and the literatures of other countries. The two volumes are modest in size but between the two covers, the two hundred and odd pages contain the choice treasures from the best works of the world's literature. It is significant that Narayanrao dedicated his work to Nachiketa of the Kathopanishad whom he described as the "Model Youth of India."

Whatever the subject of his study, Narayanrao's mind sought to bring it into harmony with the fundamental truths of life. He, therefore, found himself in agreement with Sir Henry Sumner Maine who, in his *Early Law and Custom*, has pointed out how the edict of the Roman Praeter gradually brought law into harmony with what is known as equity. The law-givers of ancient Rome regarded equity as the law of Nature. Quoting Sir Henry Maine, Narayanrao told the students of Bombay in one of his Sunday discourses,

"This law of Nature as one of reason underlies the legal principles of Narada in our Hindu law and Sir Henry Maine regards Narada as the founder of equity law in Hindu jurisprudence. The same law of Nature was also described and understood as the law of perfect reason and in its name many wild theories were propounded and many misdeeds done during the French Revolution. But the poets, and especially Wordsworth, have given us a clear idea of what that law is. It is the law of right reason, because it is the law of "spiritual

love." "Love the Lord thy God and love thy neighbour as thyself, thereby you fulfil the law and the prophet." What are the maxims of our law on which our courts act but laws drawn from that Universal Law? "All men are equal in the eye of Law; *equality is equity*; the law favours none." All there are deductions from the Universal Law of love preached and practised by Jesus Christ, by Buddha and by Tukaram, and taught in the Upanishads—preached, practised and taught because discerned with the imaginative insight and vision of the whole given to them by God through *Nature*."**

It was, however, not Sir Henry Maine, not even Narada, the ancient Law-giver of India from whom Narayanrao learnt for the first time this great truth about the Law of Nature. He learnt it from a Maratha labourer. He was on a visit to Karnal, a holy place of pilgrimage on the banks of the Narmada, not far from Baroda. He left the place one night, with a Maratha labourer who carried his kit. They had to cross the river. They crossed it on foot where the water was shallow. Just in the middle of their path, was a rock. The water running past the rock made a sound that had a sweet music of its own. The two men walked in silence. With the moon shining in the sky above, and her rays falling on the river, the landscape looked like a fairy-land. The Maratha coolie walking behind Narayanrao, all of a sudden stopped and dropped on the rock the load he carried. He then folded his hands, and closed his eyes. After a moment, he raised his eyes, and then looking on the river below, cried, "Mother Narmada! how motherly thou art!" He picked up the load and began to walk again. Narayanrao was observing in silence; he dared not disturb the solemnity the labourer had brought to the atmosphere by his act of reverence and worship. The two walked on in perfect silence. After walking another mile or so, they reached the railway station. Now the man of education and learning could contain his curiosity no longer. "My friend," he asked the coolie, "Why did you drop the load on the rock and why did you fold your hands and call the river mother?" "Sahib" he replied, "does

she not feed us and purify us with her holy water? Is she, then, not our mother?" That the river gave him water to drink and even watered the fields that gave him food was a fact, Narayanrao thought, which the man could easily understand. But what made the coolie believe and assert that the river purified him? It set him thinking furiously.

"To many or most of us that belief stands for a superstition; but the man I speak of and his race owe the belief to their Vedas and Upanishads. The Maratha labourer had indeed not read them and knew nothing of them; but their teaching, filtered down to the masses through the ages, had run in his blood and so he blindly clung to the belief as the source of the 'mystery and hope' of man."**

On another occasion, the Gool Mohur tree was his teacher. He wrote in his journal on June 9, 1910, which was his last day of the season at Khandalla:

"The colours of the rainbow—purple, blue, green, yellow and pale red! It was a glorious spectacle—the fall of the rainbow along the lines of the hill where the green plants and grass decked with the colours seemed "stirred in prayer" and stood out in majesty. My heart leapt with delight. It seemed as if God had come out with His colours to rejuvenate me just as I was beginning to feel sad because it was the last day I was spending here this season and would have to return to Bombay to find hill and valley missing. No! Bombay too is beauty!"

He left Khandalla the next morning by the Poona Mail and arrived in Bombay at 11-30 a.m. As he entered his room,

"I see my familiar friend—the Gool Mohur tree in the adjoining compound full of its red flowers—a gorgeous decoration, so inviting! That is the glory of the spring. In April when I left, the tree was leafless and flowerless—its dry branches and trunk made it look desolate. But now it

** Speeches and Writngs. Page 479.

is in its finest garb and looks splendid. That is resurrection —there is no death, it is all life ever renewed. And what means this shining sight of flowers interspersed with green leaves which meets my eye the first thing when I enter my room after an absence of just 48 days? A lesson of joy and cheer, hope and health and happiness!"

Thus the student that never ceased to be one learnt from books, from prophets and teachers, from poor simple folk, from hills and trees and from Nature, and died learning. To him scholarship and learning were means to an end—to be the master of himself—but they were also an end in themselves for, in reading and study, in observation and meditation, he found the happiness that cannot be described and the peace that passeth understanding.

XVI

After January 26, 1920

The Last Years

On January 26, 1920, the world underwent a transformation for Narayanrao. On that day, a sweet companionship of forty-five years came to an end with the departure from this world of his beloved wife—who was more than a companion to him. She was his counsellor in all matters and was his source of comfort in times of distress and difficulty. Now on, he was alone. The household, however, afforded him some consolation and good cheer. Vithalrao's first-born, a bonny boy, was a month old. It seemed that Lakshmibai, before departing, had left behind in a visible form her own aspirations to comfort her husband and the rest of the family. Prabhakar was transferred from Calcutta to Bombay. He arrived in Bombay with his wife just a few days before the death of his mother. It soon became known that there would be two additions to the family. In July, Ramkrishna, son of Prabhakar and Rukma, was born and two days after his birth was born his cousin, Narayan, the fourth and youngest child of Sundrabai. At home, nothing seemed wanting. Sundrabai, Vithal and Prabhakar did their utmost to provide the comforts and happiness of a home for their father and to make him forget, to some extent at least, his loneliness. Outside the home, there were many things to keep Narayanrao's mind fully engaged. The Hunter Committee's report on the Jalianwala Bagh tragedy was published and Narayanrao was called upon to give a lead to those who were organising themselves to voice their emphatic protest against the biased and unsatisfactory contents of the report. Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement was in the air. Other questions also came up and Narayanrao applied his mind and energies to all those questions, bringing his mature judgment to bear on them. The mind and the body were thus busy, but the heart continued to weep silently. Memories of his departed

wife came back with renewed grief and, at times, he—even he with all his fortitude and faith in God—lost his composure and became restless. At last, however, his heart found consolation. At night, in sleep, it brought about a reunion between the man and his departed wife in the realm of dream. As he wrote once in his diary, he had

“Vision of my beloved wife at night in sleep. It was a glorious vision, it braced me when I awoke and I felt so fresh.”

When he got up at 4 a.m.,

“Opened my heart in thankfulness to God for the vision I had at night of my beloved—her company still vouchsafed to me in spirit.”

During the closing months of 1919, which were also the closing months of Lakshmibai's earthly existence, there occurred in Bombay a strike of the textile mill-workers. The strike was wide-spread and of unusual magnitude. All the textile mills in the city remained closed and the workers were idle for more than a month. As the strike went on, the workers began to realise that, whatever the final outcome, the immediate effect of the strike was suffering and starvation for them and their families. They found themselves helpless, and with piteous eyes and forlorn hope they prayed for the end of the strike and of their miseries. A conciliation committee was appointed by Government and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was requested to serve on the committee. The labour leaders who had organised the strike knew Sir Narayan and his views well. They could also foresee that the way he would tackle the situation would leave no room for self-aggrandisement. They, therefore, decided to withdraw and withheld co-operation from Sir Narayan. Probably, this attitude of the labour leaders was not altogether unexpected to him. He took the situation gladly as it came and launched his own programme of conciliation with confidence in his own efforts and with greater faith in the innate goodness and simplemindedness of the workers

with whom he had to deal. He met them frequently, not in big meetings, but in an informal, friendly way. He spoke to them as one of them, in the language of the saints which they understood easily. He tried to impress upon their minds the teachings of Dnyandev, Tukaram and other teachers to show how life of this world was beset with difficulties and pitfalls. He implored them to look to God for help and guidance, and choose the path of righteousness. As he spoke, words came from the depth of his heart, and they went straight to the simple minds of the workers. They listened to him with eagerness, and as they listened, tears often rolled down their cheeks. They understood him and were convinced that he was their well-wisher in whose hands their interests were safe. In this way, Narayanrao gradually weaned their minds away from all thoughts of hatred. On the other hand, his approach to and dealings with the mill-owners were firm and based on the principle of fair treatment to the workers and a recognition of their rights. The mill-owners could not reject the proposals he placed before them for they knew that they were just and reasonable. After patient labour which had understanding and reasonableness as its basis and the welfare of the workers as its objective, Narayanrao succeeded in bringing together the workers and the mill-owners on a friendly platform to agree to a settlement which was satisfactory to both and unfair to neither. A few months later, there was a strike of the workers of the G.I.P. Railway. Arbitration was proposed and the workers named Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as their spokesman. With his help and advocacy, the railway workers gained their points and were fully satisfied.

Shortly after the G.I.P. Railway workers' strike was over, an incident happened which showed what grateful memories were left in the minds of the employees of the G.I.P. Railway. Narayanrao was in Lonavla during the hot weather in May. One morning, during his usual morning walk, he was passing through the Railway colony. Two Anglo-Indian boys were playing by the side of the road. In a playful mood, one of them flung a stone from a sling and it hit Narayanrao's hat. He also heard some words uttered

by the boys which were not very courteous or decent. The father of one of the boys came to know the incident. He took both the boys with him and went to Lakshmi Griha, Narayanrao's house in Lonavla. The father almost went on his knees to plead guilty and to offer his apologies to one who was so kind and good to them all, and asked the boys to do likewise. Of course they had shed, at least for the time, their mischievous tendencies and were as meek as lambs. Narayanrao uttered not a word of admonition to the boys. He thanked the father and to the boys he gave wholesome advice quoting from the Bible and from the English poets, and particularly advised them to read books like "Sandford and Merton."

The Senate of the University of Bombay in December 1920 resolved to confer the Honorary degree of LL.D. the highest honour it could confer, on three distinguished sons of India. One of them was Lord Sinha who had served the country in several capacities and posts and was at the time Governor of the province of Bihar—the first Indian to be appointed as Governor of a province. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University, who had rendered distinguished service to the University not only as Vice-Chancellor but also as a Dean or as a Member of the Syndicate, was the second person chosen for the honorary degree and the third one was Sir Chimanlal Setalwad who was a Member of the Governor's Executive Council and Vice-Chancellor of the University. In requesting the Chancellor, Sir George Lloyd, to confer the degree on Sir Narayan, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, the Vice-Chancellor, said:

"He has always been a friend of the students to many of whom he has given a helping hand. He has always taken delight in associating himself with students and his work in the Students' Brotherhood where for many years he expounded English classical works every week will always be gratefully remembered. He has taken a keen interest in female education and his deep solicitude for the uplift of depressed classes and his sustained efforts in that behalf will always endure as a monument of his work for forcing national

advancement. It is the earnest student, the deep scholar, the patriot and the devoted worker in the cause of education that the Senate delights to honour this evening in the person of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar."

Sir George Lloyd, the Chancellor, in conferring the degree on Narayanrao paid a warm tribute mainly to his character and his outlook on life which, according to His Excellency, were instrumental in shaping his career in various spheres. The Chancellor said:

"As befits one so qualified, his influence has pre-eminently been that of a thinker, and while none of us will forget his many years on the Bench or the part he has played in the Indian National Congress or as a Representative of this University on the Legislative Council, it is as one whose breadth of view and calm outlook on life have made him a valuable influence in moulding contemporary thought both within and without the walls of this University, that I base his lasting title to fame."

Lord Sinha's task as the first Indian Governor of a province was no bed of roses and he had realised it more than anyone else. After the special convocation held for the purpose of conferring the honorary degree of LL.D. on them was over, he had a talk with Narayanrao in the course of which he confided to him his anxiety and his fears. The political sky was covered with dark clouds of unrest and agitation as a result of the new era of non-cooperation which was ushered in by Gandhiji, and the new Governor of Bihar feared that he would have to face not only criticism but direct opposition from his own countrymen. Narayanrao, in his usual way, quoted instances from history to show him how, if he turned to God and prayed, he would have the calmness and courage he needed. He told Lord Sinha how Beaconsfield marched on successfully for forty years through difficult times and how his biographer had described the composure of his mind and the control he exercised over his own self as the result of his persistent effort to rise above difficulties and dangerous situations.

The political reforms proposed by Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford in their joint report were passed into an Act which was to come in force on the 1st of April, 1921. New provincial legislatures were constituted under this Act (The Reforms Act of 1919); these legislatures were to have their own non-official presidents who, in the first instance, were to be appointed by the Governors. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, was anxious to have the right man for the office of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council. He held informal discussions with the Members of his Executive Council and His Excellency's suggestion that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar should be approached for the purpose was unanimously accepted by all the Members of his Executive Council. The Governor first placed his offer before Narayanrao through one of his Indian colleagues on the Executive Council and when he learnt that he was inclined to accept the offer, he asked Sir Narayan to see him on January 31, 1921. Sir George Lloyd expressed his delight at the acceptance of his offer by Sir Narayan but assured him that he would not like to trouble him for a long time.

The arrangement proposed by Narayanrao and accepted by His Excellency was that the appointment should be for a year only. According to the old system, the Governor used to preside over the meetings of the legislative council. For the first time, a non-official was to be appointed as President and it was essential that the person to be appointed for the first time should be one who would be able to lay down the lines and establish precedents for future presidents to follow. Sir George Lloyd had all these things in view when he offered the presidency to Sir Narayan, and as the course of events during the next two and a half years proved, he was satisfied that he could not have made a better choice. When the appointment was made, it was meant to be for one year only, but Narayanrao continued to hold the office till the last day of his life in 1923.

His task as President was manifold. Immediately after taking office, he set himself to the study of Parliamentary Procedure and prepared notes for his own guidance. These

notes were valuable not only to him but also to others among whom was the Hon'ble Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel who was the first elected speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly. The second difficult task before the new President of the Bombay Legislative Council was to evolve a procedure for the smooth application, as far as legislative matters were concerned, of the principle of collective responsibility to the two sections of the Executive, namely, the Reserved Subjects which were the province of the Governor's Executive Council and the Transferred Subjects which were entrusted to the Council of Ministers. Many knotty points of conflict arose, and the President very wisely and tactfully tried to solve them. His reputation as an able president was high all over India and under his presidentship the Bombay Legislative Council was regarded as the best of the Legislative Councils in India in point of Parliamentary Procedure.

This new office with the new responsibilities absorbed Narayanrao's interest and he wholeheartedly endeavoured to carry out his duties, which he did to the satisfaction of all. This work made him forget his loneliness, and his daughter and sons found comfort in the fact that their father had found a new interest in life. For the autumn session of the Council, he had to go to Poona from June to September. The climate of the place and its atmosphere had a soothing effect on his mind. In particular, the hours he spent every evening in the elevating company of his Maharshi, Dr. Bhandarkar, at the Bund Gardens did much to cheer him up. During the autumn of 1922, he had a bungalow at Bhamburda, and every morning, as he went for a walk, he met the villagers with whom he spent delightful moments of conversation which he employed for his spiritual comfort and elevation.

Referring to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work as the first President of the Legislative Council, the Government of Bombay said in a resolution which was issued after his death in May 1923:

"In 1921, he returned to public life as first President of the Reformed Legislative Council, which office he continued

to fill up to the time of his death. In this capacity, he displayed a wide knowledge of Parliamentary precedent and custom and established in the Legislative Council a procedure founded upon the best traditions of the House of Commons. His authority was held in the greatest respect by the Council, and its members always accepted his rulings as just and final. His services as President have been invaluable to the newly created popular assembly whose traditions were yet to be formed."

Sir George Lloyd paid a tribute to his work as President in the following words:

"Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work in the Council was to my mind of such far-reaching importance that its greatness like that of all other great constructive pieces of work will never be fully realised by this generation. Upon him fell the task of creating by direct guidance and by the indirect influence of his personality a worthy tradition for the deliberations of the Reformed Councils.... This House will, I am confident, find other Presidents who will make for themselves great reputation in the Chair, but I am equally sure that none will ever surpass him or earn in fuller measure the gratitude of this Presidency."

To build up the traditions of the new Legislative Council, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar laboured hard during those years. As he worked day and night, his life was slowly and imperceptibly drawing to a close. The Budget session of the Council in 1923 proved to be a strenuous one. As it came to an end, the President began to feel the strain on his body and mind. After the session, he went to Bangalore, to spend a few weeks with his daughter and son-in-law. Even in Bangalore, he had work with him. He undertook the writing of a certain important report. This labour broke his health. On May 5, he felt indisposed. The doctors examined him. It was clear to them that death was laying his icy hands on the patient. In guarded words, they gave an adequate idea of the seriousness of Narayanrao's condition to Sundrabai and her husband, Mr. Sirur. They lost no time in sending a wire to

Vithalrao and Prabhakar who were in Bombay. The two brothers at once left Bombay for Bangalore. On the morning of the 6th, however, Narayanrao's condition showed improvement. Dr. Paramanand, his physician in Bombay, on hearing the news, dropped the idea of proceeding to Bangalore. Steady improvement was maintained during the next six days. Even the doctors felt that their fears were groundless. On the 13th, Narayanrao awoke in the morning after a good night's sleep. He looked very cheerful. He moved about in the house, talked to and played with the children, and even did some reading. The condition appeared so full of hope and promise that Prabhakar took leave of his father and left for Bombay. On the morning of the 14th, he rose at 4-30. He prayed as usual and then had meditation and read a little. He felt fresh and cheerful, but that was the trick death usually plays. Shortly after 9 a.m., Vithalrao who was writing a telegram to his brother, heard his father calling him loudly. He rushed to the room and supported in his arms his father's body which was collapsing. Before he was aware of what had happened he had held his father's lifeless body in his arms. As the light of the morning sun entered the room, it fell on a figure in which the heart had ceased to beat. In Bedford House, sorrow reigned supreme.

The news went out of Bedford House. It reached Prabhakar at the Hubli Railway Station as the train in which he was travelling back to Bombay halted there, and he returned to Bangalore. It reached the younger brother and sister in Bombay, in Karwar, the old uncle, Putturao Kaikini and the old aunt Padmavatibai, at Bankikodla in North Kanara. They were all plunged in sorrow. Grief overwhelmed the hearts of hundreds of relatives, friends, colleagues and admirers. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, mourned the loss as that of a personal friend. To Mr. Waghmare who looked upon Narayanrao as the "Nath Maharaj of the modern times who had worked so hard to emancipate me and my brethren of the Depressed Classes, and had even received us in his house as friends and given us seats by his own side while taking meals," his death gave a blow which filled his mind with the darkness of despair.

On Tuesday, May 15, the earthly remains of the great man were taken to the burning ground followed by a long procession of silent mourners. Before the procession left Bedford House, Mr. E. Subbukrishnaya, the Brahmo Missionary, offered a prayer. At the burning ground Sir M. Vishweshwaraya and Mr. Shankar Narayanrao gave the funeral oration and after Mr. Mahadev Mudaliar offered a prayer, the last rites were performed.

On May 20, Vithalrao and Prabhakar carried the ashes to Bombay in a box made of sandalwood. At the Victoria Terminus, a large crowd had gathered to pay their last homage. The Boy Scouts presented a guard of honour as Vithalrao alighted on the platform holding in his hands the earthly remains of their departed Provincial Commissioner. From Victoria Terminus, the ashes were taken to the Prarthana Samaj where speeches were made by Sir Lallubhai Shah, Mr. Vasudev Gopal Bhandarkar, Rev. Gray, Mr. Waghmare and others. After the speeches, the ashes were taken to Pedder Road where the room, and the Gool Mohur tree peeping through the balcony which had bidden farewell to the man, now greeted what was reduced to a handful of ashes. During the next few weeks, numerous tributes were paid to the memory of one who was looked upon as a friend, counsellor and guide by hundreds of his grateful admirers and close associates. The Government Resolution of May 23, 1923 has already been noted in the preceding pages. The graceful tribute which His Excellency Sir George Lloyd paid at the special session of the Legislative Council was followed by another which he paid as the Chairman of the Public Meeting convened by the Sheriff over which he presided. At this meeting speeches were made by Sir Lallubhai Shah who moved the principal resolution of condolence, Mr. S. S. Patkar, Mr. K. Natarajan and several others who spoke in feeling terms about the loss, personal as well as public, that they had met to mourn. Among the many tributes, the following two stand out because of their utter sincerity and the depth of feeling:

On May 20, with the ashes of the departed leader before

him, Mr. Waghmare spoke of Narayanrao as 'Our Ekanath-Maharaj of the modern times'. He said, speaking in Marathi,

"Everybody mourns the passing away of a great leader in Sir Narayan, but to us of the depressed classes he was the 'Ekanath-maharaj of our own times.' Even as Ekanath of old dined at the house of a mahar, this Ekanath of ours invited us to dinner at his house and dined with us. Like Ekanath, he washed away dirt from us and made us clean. It is our ill-luck that we could not have our Ekanath longer with us."

Mr. K. Natarajan, one of Narayanrao's most intimate friends, writing in the "Times of India" of 16-5-1923, said:

"He had, indeed, a hint of the coming end just a week before his death. But the symptoms very soon passed away. All later news was to the effect he was his own self again. His gracious wife passed away, as every Hindu wife daily prays that she may, before her husband. He had the happiness which the Hindu prizes highly of seeing his grandchildren grow around him. His two sons and his daughter, and their families, were gathered at Bangalore and he was conversing with them as he loved to do when the call came to him to cross the threshold to the larger life.

"It is difficult for a Hindu social reformer to be a political radical. He sees perhaps too intensely, as Gokhale used to say, the defects and drawbacks of Society to favour proposals much beyond the pace of social progress.

"He always took his full share in every national movement, but he always insisted on thinking out questions for himself. Sir P. Mehta greatly valued him as a coadjutor, but he never claimed him as his follower in the political field prior to Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar's elevation to the Bench.

"In his address on the occasion of the anniversary of Ramkrishna Paramahansa on 4th March 1923, he was in his best form and spoke most sympathetically. It fell to me to

move a vate of thanks and on the spur of the moment, I said that, although the Chairman did not wear the garb of the "Sanyasin", he had, as I knew, the true spirit of renunciation at his heart. That seemed to have touched him, for he sat silent some minutes in the chair after the audience had begun to disperse."

XVII

The Wrestling Soul

"Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work in the field of social and national reform is known to all, but what is not so well known is his constant striving in the direction of personal reform.

"The great thing that impressed any one who came in close contact with Sir Narayan was his constant endeavour to overcome his own little shortcomings.

"He was said to have been a severe judge; but he was habitually more severe to himself than he ever was to the worst criminal that came before him. Of him it may truly be said that he constantly held

A silent court of Justice himself,
Himself the Judge and Jury with himself
The prisoner at the Bar."

Above all, he was a man of faith. He lived by faith, acting the faith he lived by without fear."

These words were uttered by K. Natarajan, the illustrious editor of the "Indian Social Reformer", while paying his tribute of affection to his dear friend after his departure from this world. Natarajan and Narayanrao were friends. Natarajan had access to the workings of his friend's inner being which few others had. Narayanrao confided in him the anguish of his heart, the doubts and fears which at times assailed him. He spoke to him what he thought of himself—his shortcomings and his faults. If Narayanrao found in Mr. Natarajan a man whose companionship was a source of comfort and good cheer, he was himself the anchor which held his friend's ship of career as a journalist and leader in public life steady on the surface of the sea of public life full of its eddies and dashing waves.

Such was their friendship, and Narayanrao turned to Natarajan as easily and eagerly as to his own hours of solitude. Still, he often cursed himself "that I have not the knack of making friends." He won friends without being aware of his having won them. In 1910, when Knighthood was conferred on him, he received messages of congratulations from friends far and near. Among those which filled him with particular delight was a letter which came from Mr. Ashutosh Chaudhari, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta. Narayanrao had first met Mr. Chaudhari in England in 1885. The acquaintance was not long, but there was probably something in him which enabled him to draw friends to him and leave sweet impressions on their memories. Rabindranath Tagore whose niece, Pratibha Devi, Ashutosh Chaudhari later married, wrote of him in his *Reminiscences*,

"When I started for my second voyage to England, I made an acquaintance on board the ship of Ashutosh Chaudhari. He had just taken the M. A. degree of the Calcutta University and was on his way to England to join the Bar. We were together only during the few days the steamer took from Calcutta to Madras, but it became quite evident that depth of friendship does not depend upon length of acquaintance. Within this short time he so drew me to him by his simple natural qualities of heart, that the previous life-long gap in our acquaintance seemed always to have been filled with our friendship".**

Probably that was also the experience of the man from Bombay whose first acquaintance Ashutosh Chaudhari had made about the same time. After his return from England, Narayanrao and Mr. Chaudhari did not meet for many years. He was, therefore, surprised to see Mr. Chaudhari's letter. His heart was filled with delight to read it. In his letter of thanks, Narayanrao wrote to him:

".....But, above all, the Knighthood has brought a friend to me that is your goodself. That is a gain which I value highly, I assure you."

** *Reminiscences*, Rabindranath Tagore, Page 286 (Macmillan's Edition).

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir Ashutosh Chaudhari thereafter met frequently whenever Sir Narayan went to Calcutta where his second son, Prabhakar, was Assistant Collector of Customs from 1915 to 1920.

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Narayanrao was too harsh on himself when he cursed himself that he had not the knack of making friends. In the earlier years, Vasudevrao Bhandarkar and Vishnupant Bhatawdekar were his intimate friends in whose company he found delight and comfort. Vasudevrao went to Baroda, and the relations became less intimate in years that followed. But Vishnupant and he remained as close friends as ever for thirty-six years. "For thirty-six years," Narayanrao wrote, "from the time he and I had formed between us the ties of intimate friendship, we were each a brother unto the other. His secrets were mine and mine were his. He could see the depth of my soul and I could see his. The difficulty in fully delineating the soul of my beloved Vishnu lies in the fact, literally true, that he was a saint, and saints live simply to express themselves—language is inadequate to express them." Vishnupant Bhatawdekar's death which took place on the Delhi Darbar day in 1912 was rather unexpected. Narayanrao was in Delhi at the time. The news, when it reached his ears, gave his heart a shock from which it did not recover for some time. It put forth its anguish on the many sweet memories of the loved and the loving soul that had departed, but could find no comfort. It wept silently, and struggled with its own anguish. "Gone, gone, art thou, beloved friend, and in this mortal sphere of life, I shall not see thee! But as I say so, thy image, I feel, is before me, to elude the sinful thought. No—thou art not gone. Thy body has disappeared but thou hast left thy image. And always thinking of thee, and holding converse with thee with the familiarity and love of intimate friendship, I shall strive to get inspiration from thy image."

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Narayanrao loved the company of friends with whom he took delight in talking on diverse subjects like literature, the teachings of great masters and the beauties of Nature. He

made friends with simple village folk and loved to talk to them about their simple lives. Among such friends were Malhari the Mahar and Hari the Householder whom he has immortalised in his "Heart of Hinduism." At Lonavla and Khandalla, where he sought relief from the summer heat of Bombay and loved to move among the hills and dales, he often had Rev. Madhavrao Nikambe and his wife Shevantikabai as his guests. When he did not meet Dr. Bhandarkar, he had these two friends to talk to. One glorious evening at Khandalla left a lasting impression of its colourful beauty on Narayanrao's mind. He was stirred by joy and in prayer to see the beautiful rainbow overhanging the distant hills on the western sky. He was glad he had Mr. and Mrs. Nikambe by his side. "The Covenant of God in the Heaven!" cried Mr. Nikambe, looking at the rainbow which probably must have reminded him of the words of God addressed to Noah after the floods: "This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations. I do set my bow in the cloud and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth." Though an earnest student of the Bible, Narayanrao did not apparently think much about "the Covenant" and his reaction to the beauty and glory of the rainbow was more touching. "God is in His garden!" he remarked, "The colours of the rainbow—purple, blue, green, yellow, and pale red—the colours themselves seem stirred in prayer!"

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Dr. Bhandarkar was one of "the Saptarshis"—the seven stars of the Elphinstone College—of whom Sir Narayan Chandavarkar spoke to the students of that college in 1910. Speaking of Dr. Bhandarkar, Justice (as he then was) Chandavarkar described him as "the foremost of our Oriental Scholars with a European reputation whose life of righteousness and piety ought to be an example to all of us." In more intimate language, however, he referred to Dr. Bhandarkar as "my Maharshi." They met frequently during the year, but every year, for three or four weeks at least, they came together in Lonavla where they lived in the midst of the splendour of the hills and dales, and held communion with

each other and with mother Nature and, through her, their God. Of one such summer visit, Narayanrao wrote:

“My pilgrimage is over. My Maharshi has gone from this place of hill and valley to resume his work in his city and in a day I shall return to mine. During the three weeks that he was here for the season, my mornings and evenings were spent in his company. I thank God I have learnt much from all that flowed from his lips. And this morning, as I took leave of him and he pronounced his benediction upon me, the spirit within was moved with silent joy, and the Maharshi's presence with the light of love revealed in it, reminded me of the words uttered of old by the Jewish Prophet: “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings of good!” ”

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The two—the Maharshi and his disciple—moved among the hills like familiar spirits in close communion. Sometimes they talked about their own worries, but never with a faltering faith. One evening, their minds lingered on the line from Tukaram: “ हा तो नव्हे काही निराशेचा ठाव । ” Dr. Bhandarkar's mind travelled back to those days when his house, presided over by his wife, was crowded with sons and daughters and grandchildren. The passage of years had brought about a change—what was an abode filled with life full of joy was converted into a lonely place. Dr. Bhandarkar's wife died in 1901 (August 5) and four years later, his eldest daughter, Shantabai Panandikar, died on November 18, 1905. While he was speaking, his sorrow was fresh over the passing away of his eldest son, Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.

“Look at me and think of my loneliness!” He said tearfully to Sir Narayan, “My wife is no more, my eldest daughter has left me, and now my eldest son is taken away from me. As I dwell on my sorrows, my mind is filled with the darkness of despair, but the moment I think of God and surrender my thoughts at His feet, peace returns to me. Then do I realise how truly Tukaram sang: “ हा तो नव्हे काही निराशेचा ठाव । ”

Another year and they came together again. The same dear, enchanting surroundings that filled the days with delight, the same moods of joy and contentment that filled the minds and lifted them to serene heights! The days were the same,—and yet not the same. “Years ago, it had been every evening the resort of the Maharshi, myself, “Sir Narayan wrote,” and one dear but departed soul—the late Mr. Justice Telang. From there we used to enjoy the Nature’s beauties. How in those days was I, wont to hang, as it were, on the lips of the Maharshi, and of Telang of blessed memory, and make mental notes of what each said!”

It was evening. The Maharshi and Sir Narayan went for a walk. They came to a place from which they had the vision of the evening glory of the sky. During the day, Sir Narayan meditated on the words “I and the Father are one.” He talked about them to Mr. Nikambe and his wife. “The sweet sensation born of the inspiring words were strengthened further by the inspiring company of my Maharshi.”

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At the first meeting of the Senate of the Indian Women’s University, Prof. D. K. Karve, its founder, said that the age they lived in was the age of rationalism, and added that there was no need of religion. Explaining to Sir Narayan what Prof. Karve was talking about, Dr. Bhandarkar said,

“By rationalism, Prof. Karve means that which is apparent of the senses. Although he clearly said that the people of this age do not need any religion, he admitted that they still need the building of character. I told him that no building up of character was possible unless it was founded on the rock of faith in God.”

“If God is taken away,” Sir Narayan remarked, “where is the basis or impulse for character?”

“They say it is furnished by a strong sense of duty.” said Dr. Bhandarkar.

Sir Narayan then quoted Miss Florence Nightingale who had said that “Character means being centred in God.” and

Dr. Bhandarkar, agreeing with what that great servant of humanity had said, also agreed with Sir Narayan when the latter observed that mere sense of duty, was inadequate without the basis of humanity (अमनित्व of the Bhagavadgeeta), which was beautifully expounded by Dnyaneshwar in his immortal work, the Dnyaneshwari.

As they thus spoke, the two kindred souls lost themselves in the ecstasy in which they were uplifted to the heights where the beauty and the peace of God possessed them. The shadows of the evening grew darker, and long after the sun disappeared on the distant horizon, they woke again to the reality of their surroundings and then they knew it was time to turn homeward.

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On Dr. Bhandarkar, as on Justice Ranade or Justice Telang, Narayanrao poured all the devotion and affection of his heart. His views on all problems of life and public questions were the same as theirs, and he looked upon it as a privilege to follow their footsteps. He was an affectionate friend and a trusted loyal colleague, but even to those who belonged to a different camp in public life, he was just and kind. He did not allow political antagonism or differences on matters concerning social reform to be a barrier in personal regard or to a just and fair estimate of the greatness of those he differed from. After the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, which took place on the last day of July 1920, Narayanrao wrote an Appreciation in the "Times of India" of August 6 which is one of the finest specimens of a tribute by a man to another whom he had opposed on most questions but for whose character and heroism he had genuine respect. His differences on political and other questions with Tilak were well known, but after his death, Narayanrao's mind from which had faded all thoughts of difference and antagonism, went back to those early years when Tilak started his public life in 1879 with his noble ideals that found shape and form in the Deccan Education Society of which he was one of the founders. Full of a sympathetic consideration of Tilak's political activities, Narayanrao wrote:

"It was the time that brought forth its man. It was the year when Lord Lytton's reactionary policy to govern India by crippling her liberties and going back upon the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 sowed the seeds of discontent. The Indian Arms Act, the measures to shut Indians out from the Indian Civil Service, the Vernacular Press Act gagging the vernacular press, the Indian Forest Act,..... all this had prepared the soil for a man to prove a thorn in the side of the Government and Tilak became the man. The idea of opposing Government, of creating in the people discontent amounting to revolt against it, possessed him completely and in that he never wavered. He pursued it as his one ruling passion of life and ideal. He had the defects of his character and serious defects they were. But they were the defects of his virtues. He was a politician of an age which forced Indians to be destructive critics rather than constructive statesmen."

In these words, one cannot fail to be impressed by the predominantly detached way of appreciating the worth of virtues of a man without the least effort either to hide the other side of his character or to magnify it. After giving an accurate estimate of Bal Gangadhar Tilak as a leader in the political life of the country, Narayanrao paid a feeling tribute to "his fearlessness, his love of the commonalty, living among the people as one of the people, accessible to all, his forceful and yet simple Marathi and, above all, his pure private character" which gave him a hold on popular imagination amounting almost to be divine. "Even these" he went on to say, "would have fallen short of what they have been if he had not the heroism of suffering." Then the writer narrated a touching account of a conversation he had with a man who, he found afterwards, was a Mahar and was one of the servants of the Bombay Gymkhana Club, to illustrate how Tilak was looked upon as a protector of the Hindu religion and was even deified. Narayanrao had gone in a carriage to the Alexandra Girls' School one evening to fetch his daughter home from the school. As he was waiting outside, the man came to him and asked him, "Saheb, what has become of the trial of Tilak Maharaj?" He referred to the first of Tilak's

trials for sedition. Narayanrao told him that the case was still proceeding and then asked him, "How are you interested in it?" The man replied, "Tilak Maharaj is the saviour of our Hindu religion." Narayanrao concluded the tribute he paid to his great contemporary in words which are noble in their sentiment and poetic without being unrealistic in the profound effects they have on the mind of the reader:

"His purity of character and his genius of scholarship have given him that strong hold on the admiration and the adoration of the people which he has attained and which he would not have perhaps attained but for them. His figure has now become history—and it has lights and shades but the shades should fall back and the lights become our beacons."

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The last sentence of this touching tribute reveals one of the characteristics of Narayanrao's character—his magnanimity of spirit which enabled him to look at a figure—of a person or of a deed—with its lights and shades, and to allow the shades to fall into the background, accepting only the lights to serve as beacons. Although in earlier years, as a journalist he had opposed Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik on social questions, he revered him as a great and good man, and even after Mandlik's death, he loved to cherish some of the finest points of his character, because he regarded his genuineness of conviction as instructive and inspiring in the work for the cause of social reform. The genuineness of conviction which Narayanrao found in Mandlik was another outstanding feature of his own character. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, found in him one of the rare men who had the courage to say in public what they were not afraid of saying in private. Indeed, this very feature which made him great in the eyes of those who know what greatness of character was became an eyesore to many. He was frank and fearless in his criticism, but he criticised not to discourage and damp the spirit, but to correct, reform and guide. When he came across insincerity, dishonesty, mere selfishness, or even slovenliness, his indignation was roused, and then his words often came harsh and merciless. It used to be said that on

the Bench of the High Court, he was not popular among the members of the Bar. Many of them felt hurt by his outspoken words of admonition for slovenliness or for arguing a point in a misleading way. Others, it was said, did not like to hear him quoting eminent legal authorities from the West or the texts of the ancient Hindu Law, for that made their task labourious which was not very welcome. At times, he created an enemy when he mercilessly slashed a man for his dishonest or crooked behaviour. There were also some who accused him of being too straightforward, too upright, too impartial in his judgment, for, according to them, he should have compromised his principles a little for the sake of some selfish interest or some gain. It is these things that made him unpopular. His temper was his outstanding defect, and none was more conscious of his defect than he. He suffered self-mortification for that; he mercilessly scolded himself for what he regarded as a serious lapse whenever his temper got the better of him; as Mr. Natarajan said, on all these occasions, he became more severe to himself than to the worst criminal that stood before him. There was one such incident on Tuesday, April 11, 1905. Two days later, on Thursday, he wrote in his diary:

"The feeling of depression due to Tuesday's incident still troubles me. How to discipline myself and get the mastery over temper—that is the real problem now engrossing my mind. I have prayed to God for it—for the ability to acquire mastery over myself. 'Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things.' "

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As he wrote to an American friend in 1916, Narayanrao had great faith in prayer which "brings us relief and strength." He added that he longed to hear from prayerful friends for "I do believe in the efficacy of prayer and am sure prayers are answered where they proceed from a sincerely penitent heart and ask for spiritual strength."

"Who can discover his errors? Cleanse Thou me of my secret faults." This was the prayer of the Psalmist. "How

much more should it be," Narayanrao asked himself, "of those who are apt to forget God and be caught in the snares of the world rather than be led by the Will of Him who made us?" Then, opening out his heart to God, he cried, "Parameshwar! Teach me to discover my secret faults and correct them."

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Very often, he rose in the morning with doubts about his own spiritual attainments. He asked, "How have I employed my time? How far have I succeeded in my resolution to practise the virtue of patience? What good have I done? What notable thing have I observed?" More than any other virtue, he needed, he felt, patience and prudence. "Have I been industrious? Have I been true, just and prudent? How have I employed my time? How far have I succeeded in my resolution to practise the virtue of prudence?"

He knew that if we "pray especially in doubt and difficulty," God will help us. He prayed whenever he was in doubt; he prayed whenever he felt his own strength was failing and was inadequate; and he prayed not only for inspiration and strength, but also for forgiveness and for a reassurance that God would not give him up because of his errors and his acts of impatience or imprudence. As he said in the message he gave to the Bombay Branch of the Y. M. C. A. in December 1915,

"The burden of life will become a blessing if we all, young and old, hearken unto the inner voice and follow the example of prophets and saints who by prayer became pure and, learning to love God and man in silent communion, became the founders of society and the leaders of men. Prayer takes us to the centre of our eddying lives and brings peace and the peace of God breeds love, the Law of life and love leads to purity. Purity is cleanliness of body, mind and heart."

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While reading Channing's autobiography, Narayanrao

came across Channing's words: "When I feel irritable, let me be silent." He thought over the words which engaged his attention. He also marked what Channing said about persons who shed tears over human misery and weep over a novel or tale of human woe but do nothing to relieve it. Virtue means not mere feeling but acting from a sense of duty. "By exertion man can enlarge the sphere of his usefulness."

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It was a morning in the month of May, 1910 at Khanda. As he rose, he became aware of a spirit of depression and felt melancholy, "thinking as had become my unfortunate habit, of the state of my health." He did not like that mood and strove to drive it away.

"When shall I be able to conquer this habit which pursues me like a nightmare? Well, I am in God's hands."

He prayed and felt stronger. Then he went out for a walk. He took the Mali's son for his companion. They went to a hillock where there was peace. The sky was overcast with clouds and there was not a breath of breeze. Still, in the presence of nature and in her company, he felt fresh. He listened to the notes of a bird singing from a tree. It brought calm to his mind.

"Life a song!" he cried to himself. The trees and plants were standing still, but there was chirping of birds all round. The sun was peeping through the clouds. There were wild flowers here and there. "Oh Nature! Thy beauty is soothing!" When he returned home, the mood of depression was gone and he felt refreshed.

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On another occasion, he heard the sweet music of two birds as they were singing from a tree. He stopped and listened. "One of the birds was leading and the other following like a choir. The sound of the former seemed to be like unto the word 'Jagadeesh'; it is a sound I have often heard from

similar birds in Bombay. The other bird immediately followed each of the notes with a strain which was like unto 'Twichi, twichi.' Was it 'Pray, pray?' Those two birds were so sweet that they lifted up my heart.

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Not only birds who sang sweetly were Narayanrao's friends. In 1921, he was in Bangalore. It was the eighteenth of June.

"At my morning tea, early at 6 a.m., I missed for a few minutes my friends. The crows usually come in for crumbs I throw at them. They were not there this morning, but any way, I threw some crumbs of bread. Within a few minutes, my friends dropped in. One of them, a dare-devil, probably assumed that I would take to him kindly and flew almost to my table as if he wanted me to let him share my cup of tea with him."

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One morning he went out for a walk with Mr. Shivram-pant Wagle. They were talking about luck and how it is supposed to play a prominent part in man's life. As they walked and talked, they came to a spot where a beggar was sitting by the roadside. He said "Ram Ram" to the "Sahebs" and begged something of them. Narayanrao took out his purse. He wanted to give the poor man a two-anna piece, but he was sorry to find just one pice in his purse. "The poor fellow's luck"—he exclaimed, as he offered that coin to him. The beggar accepted it thankfully, and said, "This is my good luck, Saheb. Your kindness is more than the pice!" "That was a pure soul!" Narayanrao said to himself, "Truly a lesson for me!"

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Narayanrao was not able to conquer his temper even to the last day of his life, but he put up a brave fight that was endless. He knew it was a defect, a serious defect that sometimes nullified and marred the good effects of his kindly and noble acts, but as one looks back on his life of sixty-seven

years which was made up of events and ecstasies, privations and tribulations, moments of self-mortification and exaltation, one is led to conclude that this very defect (as he said of Tilak's defect) often became a virtue, for it helped him to purge the life and the society around him of those iniquities which defiled them. But he never justified his temper, either to others or to his own self which was the austere judge before whom he appeared as the prisoner at the bar. He used to have moments of depression which probably were the result of his cross-examination or self-mortification. On one such occasion, in 1895, he wrote:

"I cannot allow myself to drift in this world in this aimless manner. I have been for some time suffering from fits of depression, and moods of malancholiness have so much of late been forcing over me that I am afraid if I do not control myself and summon courage and manliness to battle with these moods, I shall be making a wreck of my life."

That his life was not a wreck, that it was glorious in the triumph of the man's bearing and of his character, was the result of the battles he fought. His soul wrestled and, as one finds in the later years of his life the "Wrestling Soul" of the man whose outpourings were given out in the meditative and introspective articles bearing that title, ultimately triumphed over the weakness of his heart. As he wrote in one of them,

"Life without its tragedies, its sorrows and pains, its dangers and difficulties, would be robbed of all its dignity and divinity."**

He believed with James Martineau that "Whatever is higher than happiness is revealed to us only in the loss of happiness."

He was writing about "The Heroes of 'The Lowther Range' and 'The Trieste.'" It was the heroic tale of the Captain, officer, and crew of the ship "Lowther Range," when for days they braved the heavy seas, and tried, in spite of danger

to their own lives and their ship, to save the Trieste. "The Trieste" was a large passenger boat which was carrying cargo, and the "Lowther Ranger" was a mere skipper, a coal-carrying ship. The heroism of the "Lowther Range" bore the immortal lesson that "Great or small, we live for one another—service is the rule, love the law of life." In three words that lesson was summed up by the writer: "*In duty, faithful.*" This, Narayanrao wrote, was the motto writ large and indelible on the imperishable glory of the ship and its men. That can be regarded also as the verdict of history on the life of the writer himself. The profound words in which John Drinkwater, in his little play, summed up the tale that was made up of the acts and adventurings of Abraham Lincoln, come easily to mind as the aptest to sum up this story also:

Lonely is the man who understands,
Lonely the vision that leads man away
From the pasture lands,
From the furrows of corn and the brown loads of hay,
To the mountain side,
To the high places where contemplation brings
All his adventurings
Among the sowers and the tillers in the wide
Valleys to one fused experience,
That shall control
The courses of his soul
And give his hand courage and continence.

